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A HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT SCULPTURE

BY
LUCY M. MITCHELL

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

INCLUDING SIX PLATES IN PHOTOTYPE

VOL. I.

NEW YORK
DODD, MEAD, AND COMPANY
1888

FOGG ART MUSEUM
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

G. 174.31

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vol. 1

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Barr Printing House, Frankfort and Jacob Sts., N. Y.

TO THE MEMORY
OF THE
HON. GEORGE P. MARSH,
THIS WORK
IS GRATEFULLY AND REVERENTLY
DEDICATED.

NOTE.

A Portfolio, containing reproductions in phototype of thirty-six masterpieces of ancient art, and entitled SELECTIONS FROM ANCIENT SCULPTURE, has been prepared by the author, in order more amply to illustrate the subject treated of in this work.

Published by DODD, MEAD, & COMPANY, New York, and KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, & Co., London.

PREFACE.

FRAGMENTS of a great artistic past have come down to us, now torn from their original surroundings, and wrapped in mystery to our changed modern world. For centuries these monuments have lain buried beneath the soil, or, when visible, have too often suffered sadly from neglect. Sundering from this vast treasure what belongs to the plastic art, we find the sculptural monuments widely scattered, and often hopelessly isolated, so that a feeling of discouragement will sometimes come over one attempting to solve the riddles propounded. Here it is that the archæologist comes to our aid, with his new-born science, which dates hardly farther back than the days of Winckelmann; and bringing to bear upon his subject the patient labor of the excavator and of the conscientious collector, the resources of profound learning and of a comparative spirit, and the breadth of a scientific vision which is able to classify and group the sundered fragments, he makes the disjointed members more and more parts of an organic whole.

Following, then, the guidance of the band of scholars who have so gloriously commenced this task, I have attempted in the present work to treat the sculptural monuments of the different nations of antiquity, and to build up some semblance of the stately fabric of old. Many, alas! are the blocks still lacking to complete the structure of an exhaustive history of ancient sculpture; but if we surround the mute monuments existing, with the faiths out of which they sprung, and pour upon them the light of national custom and thought, they will become eloquent witnesses to the art-life of those remote ages.

The monuments preserved to us from Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, and Persia; those left by the Phœnicians on many shores; and those found in

Asia Minor, Greece, on the islands of the *Ægean*, and in Italy, — form the subject-matter of this work.

In choosing the historical method here pursued, no apology seems necessary. It has long since been shown, not only that beauty in art has not always existed, nor been at any time a sudden creation, but rather that it has grown through the centuries, with the development of man's imaginative and artistic powers. Moreover, by this historical method alone can fair comparison be instituted between cruder and riper works, and light be thrown backward and forward upon earlier and later monuments. Thus we are enabled better to appreciate excellences wherever found, as well as to grasp more fully the power and significance of the highest achievements.

As different localities, with varying endowments of race, show widely differing works, the value of the geographical element, in treating of the history of sculpture, is evident. Even in a land so small as Greece, there seems to have been a marked diversity of power at one and the same time, in different parts, some regions falling far behind others in the great work of artistic creation. Consequently, as far as possible, each country or district has here been treated by itself, and comparisons have then been drawn with the contemporary art of other regions. In this process, although our knowledge of the once flourishing art-centres in the ancient world is in many cases lamentably fragmentary, the monuments preserved serve as trustworthy guides whose testimony will doubtless be supplemented by discoveries yet to be made.

In the present work, though familiar historical divisions have, as far as possible, been observed, they have not been designated by numbers, but according to some prominent characteristics. Thus, for instance, in Greek history, for the usual "Third Period" has been substituted "The Age of Pheidias and of Polycleitos." The general index has been prepared with special regard to this historico-geographical plan of the work, the order of the references under single heads following the course of history. A skeleton-topic, as it were, is thus given, which may readily be filled out by using the references to ancient and modern authors contained in the corresponding pages of the text.

The system I have adopted in the spelling of Greek proper names has

been in accordance with the following principle: With the exception of a few words having well-established, frequently genuine, English forms, — in which case, use has been made of these traditional forms, — the aim has been to give the ancient spelling and pronunciation, as accurately as is consistent with the values of English letters and with due regard to the clear analogies of English spelling. A detailed statement of this system of transliteration will be found on page 696.

The sources used in the preparation of this work have been of two kinds, — the literary and the monumental. The literature comprises records left us by Greek and Roman writers, and the works of modern scholars, in whose front ranks stand the German archæologists from the time of Winckelmann down to our own day. The citations from ancient authors are based upon Brunn's great fundamental work, "*Die Geschichte der Griechischen Künstler.*" The monuments consulted consist of the most varied objects, from the tiny jewel and delicate vase-painting to the colossal statue. These have been studied, as far as was possible, directly from the originals; but, when such were inaccessible, the best casts and photographic reproductions have been used.

Since, in treating of works of art, description cannot by any possibility supersede the sight of the artistic creations themselves, a strenuous effort has been made to secure suitable illustration. To bring before the reader an accurate representation of some of the great masterpieces, a large number of subjects have been represented in six phototype plates contained in the volume, as well as in a supplementary portfolio of twenty plates, entitled "*Selections from Ancient Sculpture,*" all of which were prepared by Albert Frisch of Berlin. The remainder of the illustrations comprise wood-engravings, and a very few photo-engravings. A large number of the finest wood-engravings were prepared for me by the skilful artists of "*The Century Magazine,*" for a series of articles which appeared in 1882 in that periodical. Others are by Peter Meurer of Berlin, to whose efforts is due any excellence in most of the outline engravings, as well as in some of the others carried out in full. In treating of so vast a subject, a few illustrations already current in trade have of necessity been employed, which unfortunately fall short of what could have been desired.

It has been a source of great strength in the prosecution of this work, that scholars and artists of different nationalities have volunteered and given their aid most generously. To Professor von Duhn of Heidelberg, I cannot sufficiently express my thanks for the revision of my proof-sheets, and for imparting to me of his great fund of learning and experience, as well as for allowing me the privileges of his Archæological Institute during the last year spent in the preparation of this work. For access afforded to the University Library in Heidelberg, I am indebted to Professor Zange-meister; and, for like opportunities in the Berlin Museum Library, to Dr. Max Fränkel. The continued personal kindness of both of these scholars has been of incalculable service in the prosecution of a work requiring resources of an extensive and varied nature. Nor should I fail to mention the advantages enjoyed in the British Museum Library, and the unfailing kindness of Mr. Garnett.

Besides, great favors with regard to the monuments have been conferred upon me by the scholars in charge of the collections of antiquities. Especially to Professor C. T. Newton of the British Museum, would I express thanks for the kindness with which he has granted every request made, even when it concerned the choicest fragile bronzes in his charge, as well as for his ready and generous assistance in furnishing the latest information about the marbles, and for his ripe judgment upon many questions entirely outside of the Museum. To Mr. R. S. Poole, Mr. Head, and Professor Gardner, I am indebted for access to the treasures of the Medal Room, and for encouragement in many different lines; and to Dr. Birch, for his courtesy in what concerned the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities. The kindness of the eminent Directors of the Berlin Museum — Dr. Schoene, and Professors Curtius and Conze — made what would otherwise have been a most difficult task a delightful one, and facilitated in every way the study and reproduction of the monuments in their charge. To that Nestor of Greek archæology, Professor Brunn, and to his worthy disciples Dr. Furtwängler and Professor Milchhöfer, I take pleasure in acknowledging the gift of many inspiring thoughts, as well as many communications by letter, which have been like jewels to be wrought into the sombre web of my own recital. To my brother, Professor J. H. Wright of Dartmouth College,

I am indebted for the revision of my proof-sheets, verification of my references to ancient authors, and preparation of the accompanying index of classical citations, as well as for his suggestions with regard to the difficult subject of the English spelling of Greek words. To my husband, I owe a debt of gratitude, not only for assistance with his skilful pencil, but also for his untiring vigilance in matters of criticism.

LUCY M. MITCHELL.

MARION, MASSACHUSETTS, Sept. 15, 1883.

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EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Antiquity of Egypt. — Historical Sources. — Character of the Land. — Influence of Climate and Natural Phenomena upon Ancient Inhabitants and their Art. — The Pharaoh, his Divine and Absolute Character — The Aristocracy. — Curious Beliefs with Regard to the Future Life. — The *Ka*. — Importance and Durability of the Tomb and its Statuary. — Construction of the Tomb. — The *Serdâb*. — Tomb Reliefs. — Provision made for Funereal Services. — The Pyramids. — Pyramid Temples. — Absence of Statues in the Pyramids. — The Sphinx. — The Mysterious Character of the Egyptian Gods. — The Innumerable and Multifarious Forms given them. — Animal-headed Divinities. — Depressing Influence of Symbolism on Art. — Prosaic Character of Egyptian Myth. — Materials used for Sculpture. — Absence of Marble. — Methods of Working. — The Attendant Difficulties. — Divisions of Egyptian History.

THE hoary civilization on the banks of the Nile was regarded with wonder, even by the nations of antiquity. Homeric verse sings the "hundred-gated Thebes." Solon, the Attic law-giver, and, according to tradition, Pythagoras, the Samian philosopher, drank at the fountain of Egyptian wisdom. Plato, filled with marvel at the stability of the empire, tells us that the statues in his day were like those produced thousands of years before.

For our knowledge of the land, its customs and religion, we were long dependent upon the reports of Greek and Roman travellers alone. Plato, Herodotos, Diodoros Siculus, and others contributed towards clearing up the mystery hanging over its past, but in narratives colored deeply by their own national peculiarities. Much we owe to Manetho, an Egyptian priest of high rank, who lived in the early part of the third century B.C., and wrote a history of his people in Greek, by order of the Greek ruler of Egypt. But the study of the excavated monuments has thrown still greater light on that obscured past. From them the *Œdipus* of modern research has wrung many truths of deep import, not the least of the results being the light thrown on the spirit and motive of sculptures heretofore enigmatical. The enduring colossus; the tiny statuette found with the mummy; the tomb written all over with painted relief; the towering obelisk; the papyrus-roll, revealing the lore of ancient Egypt; the brilliant mummy-case; and the hieroglyphic story read at last from the very heart of the pyramids, — have aided in filling out the picture of those ancient days, so that many customs seem as vivid as though they were but of yesterday.

As the traveller on the banks of the Nile gazes at the majestic ruins of Thebes, her prostrate temple columns, pylons rent asunder, and shattered colossi, seem once more to stand up, and speak of the glories of that age when Egypt was the conqueror of the world; when beneath the magic wand of those arbiters of her destinies, the Thothmes, the Amenophs, and the Rameses, these wonders of architecture and sculpture sprang into existence. If we could, in imagination, build up these countless and vast structures, people them with their statues, line them throughout with reliefs, and then, with the painter's brush, charm back their former brilliancy of color; if we could see the obelisk, shining with gold; the broad avenue of silent sphinxes, through which passed the stately procession; the priests performing their gorgeous rites before the sacred images; and if we could picture the fertile Nile valley, with its overhanging canopy of blue, and the unbroken sweep of the distant mountains, — we should then be able to gain an impression of the part that sculpture played there, its impressive forms harmonizing with the grand repose of the landscape, and its colossal proportions witnessing to the ambition of mighty Pharaohs.

The Nile valley, running north and south through the entire length of Egypt, for three-quarters of the distance does not at the utmost exceed fifteen miles in width; and, in some of the southern districts, the mountains on the east, the Arab chain, approach the Western, or Libyan range, so closely, as to form a narrow defile.¹ Farther to the north, the Libyan heights sink so decidedly as to admit the passage of a large canal, which supplied the vast reservoir known to the admiring Greeks as Lake Mœris, and served to irrigate the province now called Fayoom. In Lower Egypt, not far from the ruins of ancient Memphis, the Nile finally separates into two branches; the one called the Rosetta finding its way to the sea in a north-westerly direction, and the other, the Damietta, taking a north-easterly course. The five other outlets known to antiquity have long been choked by the annual deposits of the river; but, as of old, artificial canals still intersect the broad plain of the Delta.

Along this valley, how striking the contrast between the stream with its closely clinging belt of verdure, and the barren cliffs with the shifting, smothering, desert sands, stretching away to the right and left! But in June the waters, as by magic, slowly begin to swell, although no rain has fallen in Egypt. The dams are opened in due course of time, and the eager waters flood the parched land up to the very base of the mountains. At this time the country appears like a lake, out of which cities and mounds rise like islands. Cheery scenes accompany this season of annual overflow. Busy boats ply about; the populace, young and old, and herds, stand or wade in the grateful waters; fish dart and splash; while flocks of birds watch for their finny prey. After the waters recede, a rich loam is found deposited over the whole land: a light plough easily opens this soft, warm soil; in it the scattered seed rapidly germinates, the plant comes to fruition, and the barren land is changed to a paradise.²

Hence it was that Herodotos could, so eloquently, call Egypt the "gift of the river."³ The harvest being over, the desert wind once more prevails; and the struggle of the verdant plains against scorching sun and burning sand is renewed. Such is the annually recurring phenomenon in the Nile valley, the unswerving regularity of which through the centuries, combined with the isolation of the land, shut in by the mountains, the ocean, and the equally boundless sea of desert, made Egypt the cradle of a most ancient and peculiar civilization.

Much discussion has arisen concerning the affinities of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt. Lepsius, Bunsen, and Maspero, ranking their language with ancestral Semitic speech, call it proto-Semitic.⁴ As the monuments, passing from the sea up the Nile, grow less and less ancient, it seems probable, that the Egyptians of history, wandering from Western Asia, entered their promising valley by way of the Isthmus of Suez. Still another opinion, held by Renan and others, is, that their language shows nearness of kin to the Chamitic languages of Northern Africa.⁵ According to one view, the ancient inhabitants of the Nile valley were a Semitic race, who, it is conjectured, on entering the valley, became intermingled to some extent with a race of negroes already occupying the soil, but more probably expelled them from their homes. According to still another theory, the Egyptians may have belonged to the great Cushite stock supposed to have spread from Southern India to North-western Africa.

The mummies found in the ancient tombs, as well as the forms the sculptor has reproduced in statue and relief, show clearly, that the early Egyptians were not negroes; and the modern peasant seems to have preserved somewhat the ancient type.⁶ He is of good stature, and the form of the fellah is lean and slender. His shoulders are high and square, his chest protruding, and his sinewy arm ends in a long, fine hand. His hips are disproportionately small for the powerful shoulders. Details of knee and calf, as with a pedestrian people, are very pronounced, and the feet long and flattened from the habit of going barefoot. The head is often ungracefully large, the forehead somewhat low, the nose short and round, the hair straight and stiff; and the peculiar cast of the features, with the long, almond-shaped eyes, produces a mild, even sad expression.

The energetic and practical turn of the ancient Egyptians was, no doubt, greatly encouraged and developed by their natural surroundings. As far back as they can be traced, they are engaged in the herculean task of turning the great river into a source of blessing, hoarding up its waters in artificial lakes, or dispersing them by judicious canalization. Moreover, the necessity of improving every foot of this narrow stretch of fruitful land, and of renewing the landmarks annually effaced by the overflow, besides the construction of water-works, and the observation of the Nile level to catch the suitable day for letting loose the waters, early developed sciences which should subserve these ends.

The unique physiognomy of the Nile-land, together with the strongly pronounced phases of its natural phenomena, could not fail to leave their deep impress also on the imagination of its ancient inhabitants. The broad, unchanging ocean; the trackless desert sand; the mountains of sandstone, limestone, and granite, of which interminable ranges swept the horizon; the blazing sun; the glowing, cloudless sky; the invariably recurring starry nights; the very atmosphere, preserving what was out of reach of the flowing waters from the tooth of corruption, — seemed to teach the enduring nature of all things. All this, and especially the annual periodicity of the overflow, with its accompanying harvest, by which the Egyptian was freed from the fitful freaks of climate, doubtless encouraged that quietism and contented conservatism which were so strongly pronounced in his character, and which we shall see mirrored in his art. The subjects which he treated, the types which, in the bright dawn of his national life, he had developed, passed on with little change; that which seems to us constraint, doubtless appearing to him a blessed, time-honored regulation. He builds temples, not to last for a few centuries, but for ages. The pious remind the gods, that their gifts are of "hard stone," eternal witnesses to their devotion.⁷ Eternity seems written on these Egyptian works. Rameses II., in Pentaure's hymn, is made, when pressed by his foes, to appeal to the gods for help, because he has put up to them "eternal stones."⁸

Moreover, the transparent atmosphere and blazing sun of Egypt, as well as its tremendous horizons, and broad sweeps of mountain and plain, required forms in art more colossal than those prevailing in the diversified scenery and shadier climes of the North. Seen through this air, and in such intense light, statues, to be effective, require to have two or three times the height of man; and, in the midst of such surroundings, the colossal Sphinx, the majestic seated Pharaoh, and the towering obelisk, are not inexplicable strangers, but the very autochthons of the soil.

The geographical conformation of Egypt was also conducive to that political and social uniformity which it retained throughout its venerable course. The long river, affording ready communication, and the broad, alluvial plain, were hostile to small, independent states, but rendered it easy for conquering armies to subdue them. Among the earliest spectacles which meet us in the recorded history of Egypt, is that of absolute power, using the masses at its own sovereign will. On the plains of Memphis, where Cheops raised his tomb, the Pyramid of Gizeh, rivalling the mountains, we seem to hear the groans of impressed multitudes, whose echoes had sounded down to the time of the Greek Herodotos. Israel, under a much later Pharaoh, sighed by reason of its bondage, "its cry going up to God." The latest discoveries witness to the labor and time spent in the construction of the treasure-cities of Pithom.⁹ The vast number of ancient monuments, as well as the carelessness manifest in much of this forced work, furnish additional testimony to the severity of the

tasks imposed upon the ancient dwellers on the Nile.¹⁰ But the Egyptians, doubtless naturally inclined to veneration, were from childhood accustomed to a religious reverence for their ruler ; and so generation succeeded generation of submissive subjects, ignorant of the spirit of freedom. The insurrections or tumults occurring in the course of Egyptian history are, as a rule, roused and fanned by foreigners ; and the native population, with their myriad hands and unrequited toil, continued, through the ages, to raise colossal temples in honor of their Pharaohs, or to drag ponderous monoliths, figures of "sacred" majesty, to their place before the pylon or within the court.

But though oppressed, and blindly obedient to authority, the Egyptians do not appear to have lost their *morale*, or to have developed a morose and unkindly disposition in their dealings. From numerous inscriptions and papyri, it appears that one of their fundamental maxims was the cultivation of a charitable spirit. In the "Book of the Dead" (chap. cxxv.), that code of moral action, a copy of which was placed with every mummy to be the sure "passport" through the journey to the future world, in almost the very words of the Christian doctrine, charity is inculcated. It reads, "I have given bread to the hungry. I have given water to the thirsty. I have given clothes to the naked. I have not calumniated the slave to his master." A prince of the nome, or province, of Meh, one Amooni, thus recounts his kindly actions on his tomb at Beni-Hassan, of so early a date as the Twelfth Dynasty : "There is no minor that I have put to grief, no widow that I have despoiled, no laborer that I have turned off, no shepherd that I have imprisoned, no chief of five men, from whom I have taken his men for forced labor : there were no hungry or miserable in my day ; for, if a season of want came, I had cultivated all the arable land of the nome of Meh to its northern and southern frontiers. I caused the vassals to live by it, providing food, so that none hungered among them. I gave to the widow, and to her that had a husband. I made no distinction between great and small in all that I gave."¹¹ Although Amooni was thus ready, like Zaccheus of Scripture, to proclaim his own good deeds, his words, doubtless, embody the ideal of a good man among the ancient Egyptians ; and their art seems to reflect this kindly spirit. In fact, there seems among this people to have been a vein of merriment, and an enjoyment of life, as appears not only from inscriptions, but also from the scenes sculptured in the tombs. We see them dancing, playing games, hunting, and fishing ; and, in their prayers, they beg to have life preserved, and to enjoy a happy old age, — if possible, to arrive to the perfect age of one hundred and ten years.¹² The solemn and funereal character of early and later Egyptian statuary, peopling numberless tombs, could not then have been due to the gloomy and exclusive spirit of the people, but must find its explanation in connection with the naive faiths which gave birth to their art.

The monarch Pharaoh combined in his person the most varied offices and

attributes. Besides being the highest civil authority, the head of the army, and an extensive land-owner, he exercised the priestly office, and even held the position of a deity. He was worshipped by his people as the direct descendant of the gods, who in remotest ages had ruled over the land in person.¹³ Even during the oldest, the Memphitic period of Egyptian history, far more prominence seems to have been given to the worship of the king than to that of the gods proper; and at a later date, while the statues of the gods scarcely exceed life-size, those of the kings were in colossal proportions.¹⁴ The divinity of the monarch commenced on earth, but to every Pharaoh death was an apotheosis; and the living ruler pays his homage and addresses his invocations to his divine ancestors.¹⁵

In one case, Rameses II. is, strangely enough, represented as worshipping himself in his own image; and again, in a relief in Abydos, he is in the attitude of adoration before his father, Seti I.¹⁶ The king was, besides, priest supreme. A cult like that of Egypt required, doubtless, a large number of ministers; but, in the principal temples at least, the king, as high-priest, alone had the right to enter the sanctuary where was kept the symbol representing the deity.¹⁷ A glance through illustrated publications of Egyptian carvings shows how often he appears worshipping a deity, often being presented by another deity.

It is not strange that the Pharaoh, possessed of such absolute power, having at his command the unrequited toil of his subjects in the quarry and on the building-site, and regarded as a god, the unquestioned ruler of his people, the high-priest before whom every head was bowed to the earth, should have filled with his majesty the vast structures which his word had caused to spring from the earth. His image is everywhere about the temple; in the form of colossal, seated statues in front of the pylons; as huge, standing figures lining the porticoes; and, in relief, occupying the great halls and courts, where he appears, not only worshipping, but now receiving the adoration of the crowds, now leading troops to battle, now returning victorious. Are statues of subjects allowed in the temple, it is only "by favor of the king," to whom they have done some great service.¹⁸

But while the divine Pharaoh thus bent to his immediate service the most ambitious efforts of architect, sculptor, and painter, there were, besides, many officials of state who employed the artist. Although there were no castes in Egypt, yet priests, warriors, and scribes seem to have constituted each a privileged body. They had command of great resources, all the land which was not royal domain being in their hands. Their importance, even from oldest times, is evident, both from their spacious and gorgeous tombs, lined with relief or fresco, and their speaking statues, brought to light on that wide plateau at Memphis, where these lordly subjects were laid to rest under the shadow of the pyramid tombs of their monarch masters. From this vast

cemetery, seventeen kilometers long, statues of but one Pharaoh of the Memphitic period (Khaфра) have as yet been brought to light ; but the statues of men high in rank may be counted by the hundred.

Profound mystery long hung over this population of statues, imprisoned within Egyptian tombs, and the gayly colored reliefs, lining their walls like brilliant tapestry. Only recently has this question received an approximate solution through the interpretation of the hieroglyphics.¹⁹

The Egyptian, with a feeling common to humanity in all ages, felt an intense desire to outlive the few short years of his pilgrimage on earth ; and hence, to securing a happy and contented hereafter, much of his earthly substance was devoted. He conceived the life to come as a continuation of existence in the Nile valley. The life on earth was to him but a short episode of an eternity mirrored in the present. So intense is this feeling, that only lost souls are spoken of as dead ; while the one occupying a coffin or tomb is called the "living ;" and the coffin of Una, the great statesman of King Pepi, is called "the chest of the living."²⁰

But the Egyptian believed, that, for the soul's future happiness, the preservation of the mortal body was in some way indispensable.²¹ There are chapters in the "Book of the Dead" relating to the uniting of the soul to its body. Now the body, if left to itself, was in danger of annihilation. Hence the efforts to preserve it in a condition as nearly like life as possible ; hence the colored cheeks, the carefully braided locks, and, that physical dissolution might be postponed for ages to come, the costly embalming of the mummy, and the pains taken in securing for it an inviolable resting-place, far above the rising waters of the river. The hardest stones were sought for the sarcophagus. Hieroglyphic records present the picture of a high functionary sent out by a powerful Pharaoh to spend months in the arduous search for an adamantine block of granite or basalt.²²

But far stranger than this was the material view taken by the Egyptian of his ethereal part, and the provision he made for it. It was believed, that, under the creative hand of Ptah, an immortal second self, a kind of spiritual double, called the *Ka*, sprang into being with every mortal, and grew with his growth. It was conceived, to use Maspero's definition, as a copy of the body in matter less dense than all corporeal substances, a kind of aerial colored projection of the individual, reproducing him feature for feature. But as the *Ka* had accompanied the body in life, sharing its earthly lot and its dwelling of wealth or poverty ; so after life had fled, and the body was wrapped in its mummied shroud, this spiritual part must needs bear it company in the tomb. Moreover, the future existence of this invisible *Ka* was believed to be dependent upon a material support necessarily resembling the earthly body ; and hence the *Ka* received a statue which it might occupy through the ages of an endless future. That this statue might be enduring, it was made of hard stone,

and concealed from danger. Out of this, its stony body, it was believed that the shade could wander, walking among men in true ghostly fashion.²³ But a single statue might perish, or become mutilated, and future happiness be forfeited. Hence that unique feature of earlier Egyptian statuary, the multiplication of the figures of the deceased in his tomb.

Like other men, the Egyptian dreaded the helplessness and solitude of the grave; the more so, that he attached such reality to it. This phantom would suffer hunger, and be in danger of annihilation, did not surviving friends care for its wants, and piously bring it offerings of food and drink.²⁴ Did they, however, neglect such sacred duties, then the dead would be roused to anger; and the spirit, or *Ka*, would have its revenge.²⁵

But the Egyptian did not depend upon the pious devotion of surviving friends alone. His family might become extinct, and then his shade would be neglected. Consequently, in his lifetime he took every precaution to insure its future well-being. The poor and down-trodden could hope for little; and, as remains show, a few amulets, a bath of natron, a few windings of linen, and a grave in the dry, conserving sand, were all the precautions taken against dissolution.²⁶ But the Pharaoh and the rich were better able to provide for their future.

The site of the tomb was always chosen high above the overflowing waters, in strong contrast to the abodes of the living, built within reach of the swelling Nile, and of which scarcely a vestige remains. The Egyptians, as we are told by the Greek Diodoros, called their dwellings "inns," on account of the shortness of life; but the tombs they called "eternal dwelling-places," and this expression is met constantly in inscriptions within the tombs.²⁷ On the plateau of the Libyan, or Western range, behind which the sun dropped every evening, there to commence his dangerous journey through the sombre land of Ament, the Egyptian chose the site for burial. The western shore of the Nile was thus the land of the dead: graves are found on the eastern shore, only where the distance over to the Libyan mountains was too great for friends to go with food for the dead, and return by easy journey. Wherever found, the tombstones, however, always face the East, as though the mummy were watching for the rising sun, which should illumine his night, and put an end to his long sleep.

The tomb of the rich of the oldest period is the original form from which those of later times seem to have been derived. It consists, as a rule, of three parts,—first, the mummy-chamber; second, the shaft; and third, the chapel, with its adjoining dark recess filled with statues, and called by the Arabs *serdâb*.²⁸

The mummy-chamber is hewn deep within the living rock: and its walls, massive and enduring as eternity, are pictureless; showing, at the most, traces of ritual phrases.²⁹ In the centre stands the lonely sarcophagus, hermetically

sealed, and containing the mummy. Accompanying the coffin, a few large red vases of coarse fabric, and the remains of quarters of beef, are all that have been found in mummy-chambers of the oldest period. These vases, doubtless, once contained water, as was the case with those found in other parts of the tomb. It is not strange, with the parching desert on every side, that aridity should have been the synonyme for death; and that water, deemed the essential principle of life, should have been abundantly provided for the thirsty *Ka*.³⁰ The numberless statuettes, and well-manned models of boats, found with the sarcophagus, appear for the first time in the tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty, at the opening of the Theban, or second, period.

The entrance to this hidden chamber is always found scrupulously closed with solid masonry. From it leads up the long and narrow vertical shaft, in many places reaching a depth of thirty meters, and filled up with a conglomerate of earth and stone, to make still more inviolate the mummy's rest. The mouth is most carefully concealed; and often a false shaft is made, to lead astray any inquisitive searcher.

Over the concealed entrance to the mummy-chamber rises, in the shape of a truncated pyramid, the *mastaba*. It varies in size, and richness of internal appointments, with the age and wealth of the deceased, who had devoted much of his substance while living to making habitable this his "eternal dwelling." In this *mastaba* was the chapel where children, friends, and appointed priests met, on certain festivals, to eat and drink with the departed, doing him religious honors, and setting aside his portion on a table of offerings; thus keeping up the consoling fiction of an earthly life in common with the living.³¹ Here, even the stranger could enter, and say the prayers which the deceased, speaking from inscriptions on the walls, besought him to repeat for their mutual welfare. The outer walls of the *mastaba* were not usually the field upon which the ancient sculptor displayed his skill; although, in some instances, his work is found on the façade. About the door is, however, invariably a stereotyped formula of prayer in hieroglyphics, followed by a mention of the funeral gifts to be presented to the deceased on certain anniversaries, "even to eternity." Stepping inside, gayly painted reliefs, covering the walls, present themselves on every hand. Sometimes these brilliant linings of the tombs were found unfinished, the occupant having been surprised by death before the sculptor had completed his work.³²

Could we imagine the rich man's children and friends about us, we should, doubtless, hear them discourse upon the *Ka* statues of their departed ancestor, walled up in a dark recess adjoining. As a rule, the chapel of every tomb of the Ancient Empire is furnished with one such recess, called *serdâb*. In the tomb of Pehen-u-ka, at Sakkarah, six such enclosures were discovered, unfortunately despoiled; and, as the part of a statue was found in the chapel of the same tomb at Sakkarah, it is evident that the statues were not all confined in

the *serdāb*. The two figures in the chapel of Ti are another proof that statues of the tomb were occasionally allowed outside of the closed *serdāb*. Sometimes, however, figures within this enclosure had direct communication with the chapel through a crack in the wall, only wide enough to admit a hand, and intended as a channel of intercourse between the convivial gathering in the chapel and the silent, walled-up statues. On a relief in the tomb of Ti at Memphis, friends appear at this opening, wafting grateful incense to reach the stony nostrils within.³³ Frequently, twenty or more statues of the *Ka* are found in these closed recesses; all representing the deceased, as is evident from their similarity one to the other, and their dedicatory inscriptions. In the *serdāb* of Ra-hotep's famous tomb at Memphis, eighteen portraits of the worthy dignitary were found, some of them in red granite, others in limestone, and one in Oriental alabaster. The largest of these measured eighty-three, and the smallest thirty-five, centimeters in height; the deceased appearing in different poses, either seated, standing, or kneeling.³⁴

In keeping with the desire to alleviate the solitude of the tomb, were depicted on its walls the forms of the favorites and attendants of the deceased. As far back as we can trace the Egyptian, he was too advanced to secure society for his dead by the bloody immolations practised by many primitive peoples, as, for instance, African races of to-day. The speaking forms of art had been called to his aid, depicting in small statues, but far more in brilliant relief, servants and craftsmen in the routine and ardor of work. The busy cook kneads bread, the butcher slays the ox; and thus the services of the *Ka*, or double, of the servant, were secured for his master's shade. Episodes of the shambles are made still more real by accompanying inscriptions, as where one shouts, "Hold him fast!" and another replies, "Ready, make haste." Even jokes from his busy attendants are sometimes written on the walls, to delight the ear of the dead. A noisy sailor on the water, in one case, shouts to an old man, "Go you, too, on the water!" to which the reply is, "Don't make so many words."³⁵ In the tomb of Ti, some of the servants are clearly portraits, as the cripple, leading "pick-eared" hounds. Brilliant color throws its charm over many scenes, and what the low relief could not otherwise have brought out appears as clear as life. Surrounded by rural scenes, among his servants, or in the midst of his family, sometimes engaged in pleasant games, or diverted by the graceful dance, continually re-appears the all-important inhabitant of this "eternal dwelling," towering in colossal proportions above his pygmy attendants or kin.³⁶ That all this concerns the dead, appears most clearly from inscriptions, such as are found repeatedly in the tomb of Ti at Memphis. Here occur the explanatory words, "He sees the plucking of grapes, and all the labors of the field." "Ti sees the stables of the oxen and small beasts, the trenches and canals of the tomb: he sees the gathering of the flax, the harvesting of the wheat, its transport on the back of the ass," and the like.

An honored place in the west wall of the chapel is given to the tombstone proper, the stele, on which the deceased appears, often as standing, receiving the pleasant gifts of his surviving friends, or as seated before a table laden with good things, of which he was believed to partake. To these was added a written prayer, the counterpart of that of the façade, that the god would see to it that the *Ka* of the departed actually received these offerings intended for him.

Below the stele is sometimes found, still uninjured, a table of offering and libation, often of fine workmanship and ornamented form. On one such table of wood, vases, evidently once intended for water, were found, as well as a figure of a plucked goose, in stone.³⁷ On these tables, friends perhaps deposited the food which should go to nourish the languishing *Ka*. So important was deemed the continuance of these provisions, that the great ones of Egypt set apart lands and goods, the revenues of which should supply banquets, to be held in their chapels through all ages to come; stipulating with priests by contracts for their perpetuity, as well as their abundance and variety. Many of these written contracts are still extant, and date as early as the Fourth Dynasty.³⁸ In the tomb of an unknown nobleman of the Sixth, and of Hapi Toofi of the Thirteenth, Dynasty, are found whole deeds or fragments relating to the duties of the *Ka*-priest, and to the institution of sacrifices for the statue of a deceased prince.

Thus, by a most ingenious intermingling of spiritual and material elements, making his tomb like his home on earth, only more enduring, the Egyptian believed that his happy future was secure.

A lively communication between this busy spirit world and living men was supposed to exist. Thus, to the wooden statue of an Egyptian lady, which is now in Leyden, was found attached an importunate papyrus letter from her living husband, who evidently expects his better half, though in the grave, to get the full force of his message.³⁹

As the well-sealed mummy-chamber of the humbler tombs contained the sarcophagus and mummy; so those vast tumuli of accurate geometrical shape, the pyramids, were the mummy-chambers of royal tombs.⁴⁰ For royalty, the chapels appear to have been built separate from the pyramid; since the ruins of buildings have been discovered to the east of the second and third pyramids. Here religious services were kept up for countless generations in honor of the dead king by his descendants, and by colleges of priests appointed for the purpose.⁴¹ Many a functionary who now reposes by his Pharaoh in the Memphis sands is proud to say, that he was "priest of the temple of the pyramid of his king."

Did these temples connected with the pyramids, like the chapels in humbler tombs, have their *serdab* with concealed statues of the Pharaoh, or were the statues of the king left exposed? Scarcely a vestige of these pyra-

mid temples now remains, and still less of their statuary and reliefs, to aid in the solution of this query. It is possible that the seven famous statues of Chephren (Khafra), found by Mariette in a well, in the so-called Temple of the Sphinx, may once have occupied his tomb, but, as has been conjectured, were at some time dragged forth by the populace, and precipitated into the place where they were found.⁴² It might also be imagined that the pyramids themselves contained images of the kings, hidden in some deep recess. As yet, however, only one chamber which might have served as a *serdâb* for statues has been discovered, — that in the Pyramid of Oonas, the last king of the Fifth



Fig. 1. The Great Sphinx. Gizeh.

Dynasty; but the fact, that statues themselves have nowhere been found in the pyramids, is an objection to taking this for a *serdâb*.

Towering above the vast necropolis at Memphis, the mammoth form of the Sphinx, the god of the rising sun, and so symbolical of the resurrection, guards the silent population of mummied kings and priests, and introduces us to the vast army of Egyptian gods (Fig. 1). The devout spirit of the ancient Egyptians towards their gods is evident: most of their manuscripts are of a religious character; and, even in their profane literature, mythological names and references appear on nearly every line. The national spirit was full of reverential thoughts concerning the gods; and expressions of praise, and en-

thusiasm for their works, abound. Local deities were worshipped in the different cities; and, as each city came to take the lead in state, the local god seems to attain pre-eminence in the great Egyptian Pantheon.⁴³ But though texts, reliefs, and inscribed statues abound in the Pharaonic temples, yet great mystery hangs over these divinities; and their central religious thought is obscure to us, as it was to the masses of antiquity. We seem everywhere to be met with the famous inscription of Neith at Sais,⁴⁴ "I am that which is, that which will be, and which has been; and no mortal has ever raised the veil which covered me." Glimmering through this obscurity, Egyptologists think that a belief in one God can be traced, at the time of Egypt's highest political power, in a pantheistic sun-worship, shared, however, only by the initiated few, standing on a higher plane. In the fathomless depths of Nu, the primeval ocean, there moved hither and thither, in chaotic confusion, the genius of all things; and, out of this surging mass, the great God, self-generating, produced himself, and fructified all other beings in heaven and on earth. "Father, mother, and son in one," to use a favorite Egyptian phrase, "he was the creator of his own members, which are the gods."⁴⁵ These secondary emanations of the great divinity could, in their turn, produce new gods, and are likewise grouped in triads of father, mother, and son; thus indefinitely multiplying the Pantheon, but passing so imperceptibly one into the other that they have a shadowy character, far different from the pronounced individuality of the Greek divinities.

Even the hasty wanderer through our museums is astonished by the multitude of strangely shaped deities present either in life-size statues and tiny statuettes, or on tattered papyrus and finely chiselled relief. In the British Museum he can count at least one hundred and forty bronze statuettes of the mummied form of Osiris, and in every museum he will meet that lion-headed goddess whose five hundred and seventy-two statues decorated the courts of the Temple of Mut at Karnak.⁴⁶ But, more than by their countless numbers, he will be impressed by the prevailing intermixture of human and animal forms to represent deity. Human-headed lions or birds alternate with still more surprising medleys of human forms, surmounted by animal heads, be it beast, bird, or reptile. These were probably symbols of familiar objects and phenomena. Noun the ram-headed is called the "terrible face." Doubtless, as symbolical of the wide-spread sun-worship, the head of the hawk appears on all the gods of light, partly, perhaps, on account of the brilliancy of his eyes; the hawk-headed Horus at Ombos being said to illumine the world with the splendor of his orbs.⁴⁷ The sharp-eyed vulture may likewise have received divine honors for his services as a persistent scavenger, warding off pestilence by cleaning the land of the putrid carcasses stranded after the overflow.⁴⁸ Similar causes, doubtless, led to the reverence of the ancient Egyptian for the ox and other useful animals, as well as for inanimate objects. The regard

shown by the modern fellah for these animals, still so necessary for his land, may perhaps indicate the spirit of this most ancient religion of the Nile.

—Much of this animal worship in Egypt may find further explanation in the singular belief, so difficult for us moderns to imagine, that the sacred animals were the doubles of the gods.) The bull Apis, the most perfect incarnation of divinity in animal form, was called the second life of Ptah and the soul of Osiris; and when the sacred animal, carefully tended in a temple, died, he became Osiris, and his name Osar-Hapi, out of which the Greeks made Sarapis.

/ As time advanced, these symbols of the gods in animal shape may have come to express certain abstract qualities, supposed to be characteristic of the divinities. Thoughtful priests, perhaps, imagined into them mysterious meanings. In the texts, animals express mental functions, supposed to be inherent in deity. Thus sheep, kynokephalos, jackal, and crocodile meant respectively terror, adroitness, anger,—subjective qualities and powers which the heads of these animals may have expressed when placed on the human form of the deity.⁴⁹⁾

(Upon art, this extensive use of religious symbolism could not fail to exercise a depressing influence. A symbol cannot appeal directly to our feelings as does a pure work of art: it must first receive its interpretation. However much, then, the Egyptian may have imagined into his countless and incongruous figures, they could not fail to exclude him from the purely ideal world, and will ever remain unattractive to the lover of what is great and true in religious art. In the Egyptian ritual the cat appears as the destroyer of noxious vermin; and the artist uses her head on the shoulders of the goddess of purification, whose statues lined the temple-courts at Karnak,—symbols of the purity required of those who entered within their walls.⁵⁰ But who on beholding these cat-headed monsters, arranged before the sacred place, shoulder to shoulder, would, without having read the "Book of the Dead," receive even the faintest impression of their symbolical import.)

Moreover, the Egyptian gods are not actors in a mythology which appeals to our poetic sense. In most of the texts, Ra, Ammon, Hathor, and Mut are impossible beings; their life offers no change; they never break their eternal speechlessness, except to repeat to king or deceased some stereotyped formula of benediction. Egyptologists tell us, that "Egyptian myth has no charm in itself; that brilliant imagination and sparkling freshness, so peculiar to the oldest Greek poets, is foreign to its puerile details."⁵¹ The dynasties of the gods have their episodes, which are but the counterfeits of the reigns of mortal kings. The god has his court-minister, his army, and navy. His eldest son and heir-apparent commands the troops. His prime-minister, also a god and the discoverer of letters, has rhetoric and geography at his command, and is court-historian as well. He records the royal god's victories, and gives them pleasant, high-sounding names. When the god fights the monster Typhon,

he uses no supernatural weapons, but, with his archers, sails against him up the Nile, makes carefully planned marches and counter-marches, fights battles and conquers cities, until all Egypt is at his feet, — and all this as any Pharaoh would have subdued Ethiopia or Arabia. Although many of these historical fictions were, doubtless, greatly elaborated at a late date, still their origin in the national religion is from very early times ; such mythological scenes having been found to line a part of the tomb of Seti I.⁵² The Egyptian mind being, then, thus attached to symbols, and prosaically historical in its turn, it is not strange that the artists were held to fictitious and arbitrary forms, especially when we remember the nature of their land, and their isolation for ages.

The materials with which the Egyptian artist worked also show most clearly their influence ; and, even if his artistic gifts had been of a livelier and more poetic sort than they actually were, the task which he chose was attended with insurmountable difficulties.

Clay was indeed furnished by the Nile valley in abundance, but unbaked figures in this material are most perishable ; and the process of firing is so difficult that only small figures can be produced with success.

Of woods, sycamore and acacia grew in Egypt, and were used, as we shall see, throughout its history, for statues and statuettes. These wooden figures we always find much freer in movement than the works in stone ; the arms and legs not being "reserved," as in the latter, but carved fully in the round, and detached from the body, so as to give an agreeable impression of life. A glimpse at the *Sheik-el-Beled* (Fig. 2), of the earliest period of Egyptian art ; at the wooden figures of the British Museum, of a much later day ; as well as at wooden spoons, like that of the New-York Historical Rooms, representing a girl swimming, — well illustrates this greater freedom.

Bronze, an importation from Asia, was sparingly used, as the diminutive size of the monuments in that metal shows ; but its treatment was likewise



Fig. 2. *Sheik-el-Beled*. Boolak. Cairo.

free from those encumbrances which make figures in granite and limestone stiff and uncouth. Bronzes often have much motion, and easy flow of line, as appears in the figure of the negro, of the New-York Historical Rooms, who kneels with arms fastened behind (Fig. 3).

But fine-grained marble, of all stones best suited for plastic forms, was lacking in Egyptian quarries; the only marble being a coarse black variety, but little used. The Egyptian was, therefore, forced to use hard and soft calcareous stone, or the harder materials, porphyry, basalt, serpentine, and diorite, — all of which were found in the mountains of the Eastern desert, — besides granite quarried at the First Cataract. For the Pharaoh, it was natural that the harder stones should have been chosen; the great distances from which the blocks were brought, as well as the extreme difficulty in working them, greatly enhancing the value of the statues. This fashion, set by the Pharaoh, would naturally be followed by those who were in any degree able so to do.



Fig. 3. Kneeling Figure. Bronze.
New-York Historical Rooms.

But these harder stones cannot be worked like marble, with gentle and finely regulated blows. The sculptor in marble brings into requisition chisels graded to his use, and driven by a light hammer; thus producing broader or heavier lines, the finer touches being given without the use of the hammer. With the borer, worked like an auger, deep or shallow channels are cut; the steady, screw-like motion not exposing the statue to the danger of breakage. The well-modelled surface is then gone over with files of different grades, wielded as the painter would his brush, and making fine lines, which follow the swell and fall of the muscles. To reduce these lines to uniformity, the surface is, accord-

ing to the present mode of working, usually polished off with emery. After careful study of early Egyptian monuments of the Louvre, M. Soldi, himself a sculptor and gem-cutter, has found no signs of the use of the borer and file, and hence infers that these instruments were not known to the Egyptians, at least until a very late date; the use of the chisel being also very limited.⁵³

The Egyptian sculptors, choosing the hardest stones for their statues of Pharaohs, were obliged to deal heavy blows with a ponderous instrument upon a coarse *point*, thus shivering off the rock bit by bit. We see this long, oval-shaped mallet frequently pictured in scenes where statues are being executed, not only from tombs of the Memphitic period, but also those of the much later Eighteenth Dynasty (Fig. 4). The materials of which these tools were composed is also a question of interest. At present, steel among metals alone cuts granite and diorite; and it seems improbable that the ancient Egyptians made a bronze sufficiently hard to cut these rocks. Experiments made in

France with Egyptian bronze failed to cut stone; confirming the belief, that only steel or stone could have been used. But whether iron and steel were known and used in early Egypt, is still a disputed question. It is, however, agreed by all, that silex, which cuts granite, although slowly, was used down to latest times.⁵⁴

But, whatever the tools used by the ancient Egyptians may have been, it is evident that their primitiveness, together with the obduracy of the stone, were serious impediments in carrying out finely modelled details. The work was like a sketch broadly blocked out by the shivering process, the defects of which were covered by polishing. Monuments actually show this polishing going on with oval, egg-shaped objects, or broad, flat disks, which are evidently used with water and powdered sandstone. Finally, with emery must have been produced that shiny finish, still seen on Egyptian statues, which, to the casual observer, has an elaborately fine look, but is, in reality, only a cloak for lack of artistic details.

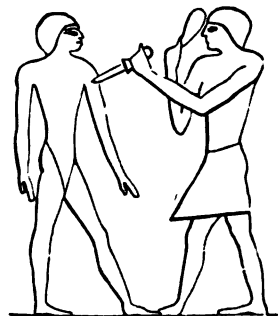


Fig. 4. Making a Statue. Eighteenth Dynasty.

But, besides thus affecting the surface treatment, these obdurate materials, doubtless, also have much to answer for in the constraint of most Egyptian compositions. The sculptor was in constant danger, while hammering, of giving too heavy a blow, and of destroying what he was seeking to represent. The statue would, consequently, be planned so that it might least be exposed to such risk, or any subsequent disaster. In relief, where no such danger impended, we see the sculptor represent lively action: he makes the beard hang loosely from the chin, and the arm extend with staff in hand. In statuary in hard stone, on the contrary, the pose is quiet; at most the left leg is advanced, as in walking; the beard clings to the chest; the hair is fast to the shoulder; the arms and legs are "reserved;" and, in sculptures of the Theban and later periods, a pilaster-like support runs up behind the whole, protecting the weighty head, the neck and legs, and at the same time offering a convenient space for dedicatory inscriptions, but dooming the statue to be but a lifeless imitation of nature. Finally, a pasty coating of opaque color, serving to protect the surface, prevented that charming play of detail which forms one of the chief attractions of Greek works. Traces of red still remain on the famous Memnon statue, the portrait of Amenophis III., and on great numbers of figures less widely known.⁵⁵

The remote prehistoric cycles were to the Egyptians their Golden Age, when successive dynasties of the gods, dwelling among men, ruled over them in person. In like manner history proper is divided up into dynasties of kings, introduced, according to Manetho, by Menes, and continuing through

thousands of years, embracing thirty dynasties of Pharaonic rule. Many of these had but a short duration, while others extended over centuries. Their number is confusing; but, grouped in certain grand constellations, Egyptian history assumes a clearer shape.

Pharaonic Egypt had three great periods, each of which is associated with some prominent and ruling city.⁵⁶ The first of these periods, during which Memphis was the central point, is called the Memphitic, or Ancient Empire, and lasted from the First to the Eleventh Dynasty.

The transfer of the seat of power up the Nile to Thebes has given its name to the second, or Theban, period, which comprised the Dynasties from the Eleventh to about the Twenty-first. This age, the most brilliant of all, was overcast at its middle by the invasion and rule of the Shepherd Kings, or Hyksos, said to have lasted more than five hundred years.

But, the empire of Thebes falling to decay, the cities of the Delta, Tanis, Bubastis, Mendes, Sebennytos, and Sais, disputed the sovereignty. The latter city, as most successful in this rivalry, may give its name to the last era of Pharaonic rule, the Saitic period, which continued from the Twenty-second to the Thirtieth Dynasty.

Finally, with the Greek conquest and occupation of the land by Alexander, the old traditional civilization began to wane. This process went on uninterrupted under Roman rule until the last blow was given in 381 A.D. by the Emperor Theodosius I., who prohibited the worship of the ancient gods, and by an edict ordered the destruction of the images, and made Christianity the established religion of the land.

The dawn of Egyptian history, associated with the rule of Menes, fades away in prehistoric times. Mariette and Maspero, believing that the thirty dynasties enumerated by Manetho comprise only the reigns of the legitimate rulers, and, consequently, successors in continuous line, give the date of Menes as about five thousand years B.C. Others, Lepsius and Brugsch, believing that some of the dynasties mentioned by Manetho are synchronous, place Menes at about 3500 B.C., or somewhat earlier. Even this more recent date makes the Egypt of the Memphitic period, with its monuments, gleam out like a light-house in the midst of the profound night which covered the rest of the world at that time.

CHAPTER II.

THE MEMPHITIC OR ANCIENT EMPIRE.

Historical Introduction. — Funereal Character of Sculptures. — Oldest Statues from Gizeh. — Lifelike-ness of Statues from this Age, and General Characteristics. — Ra-hotep and Nefert. — Sheik-el-Beled, or Ra-em ka and his Wife. — Ra-nefer. — The Scribe of the Louvre. — Head of Old Dignitary in the British Museum. — Dwarf in Boolāk. — Other Statues. — Bronzes. — Hollow Casting. — Groups. — Statues in Hard Stone. — King Chephren. — Variety in those Oldest Works. — Freedom from Conventionality. — Stocky Forms. — Greater Freedom due to Material, and to Desire for Exact Portraits. — Lack of Feeling or Expression in Faces. — Statues of this Olden Time not Architectural. — Reliefs from Tomb of Ti. — Superiority of Animal to Human Forms. — Wooden Panels from Tomb at Sakkarah. — Effects of Hieroglyphic Writing on Art. — Reason for Lowness of Relief. — Colors used. — Rarity of Representations of Gods. — The God Thoth, Sinai. — The Great Sphinx.

IN the Memphitic or oldest period of Egyptian history, the remarkable fact meets us of a civilization developed on the banks of the Nile which should not be surpassed in its subsequent stages.

The first three Dynasties are veiled in obscurity, yet there are indications that society was then in a formative state.

The first king of the Fourth Dynasty, Snefroo, whose reign is quoted in the monuments as the earliest landmark of history, enriched the land by causing the copper and turquoise mines of Sinai to be worked, and went on conquering expeditions against his negro enemies in the south. But more brilliant were the succeeding reigns of Khoofoo, Khafra, and Menkara, or, as the Greeks called them, Cheops, Chephren, and Mykerinos, the builders of the great pyramids, the most prominent rulers of the ancient empire, and the patrons also of literature, art, and science.

Throughout the Fifth Dynasty the flourishing condition of Egypt seems to have been uninterrupted; but, during the Sixth Dynasty, we see the signs of coming trouble, heralding that obscurity which, between the Sixth and Eleventh Dynasties, settled upon the land. In vain have been all efforts to explain satisfactorily this strange blank. Some have imagined that a foreign invasion, sweeping all before it, brought this blight upon the land.⁵⁷

The sculptures of this Memphitic period are, with very few exceptions, funereal in character, and come from the tombs of that vast cemetery of ancient Memphis which stretches from Gizeh away to the south of Meidoom. The

numerous statues, mute inhabitants of this vast city of the dead, owe their inspiration to that most curious belief in the *Ka*, described above (p. 9), in consequence of which the greatest lifelikeness was sought to be obtained in the statues of the deceased.

Although there must have been a time when the Egyptian sculptor was still a novice in his art, still seeking for modes of expression, this period of beginning is veiled from our view. In the oldest existing monuments, there is scarcely a sign of such inexperience, when the A B C of the technique was being learned.

From the three earliest Dynasties, no monuments which can with certainty be dated have been discovered: nor were it strange had none survived; for, even early in the Fourth Dynasty, older works had so fallen to decay as to require reparation; Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid, having then, according to inscriptions, restored a temple, and renewed its statues.⁵⁸

There is, however, a group of statues of so primitive and undecided a style, that they have been assigned to that remotest time when society was probably in a formative state. Several of these figures from the tombs of Gizeh, in soft limestone, are now in the Louvre. Two of them are almost identical, and, according to the inscription, represent Sepa, an ancient functionary, a "prophet and priest of the white bull." A third is Nesa, a lady in tightly fitting garments, a "relative of the king," and, doubtless, the wife of Sepa. Both male and female wear heavy wigs, and carry their arms most stiffly. We seem to see the crude and unsuccessful attempts of the sculptor to imitate nature, while in the faces we catch no individuality of expression. But even here the sculptor has tried to represent figures fully in the round, and without that support at the back always met with in stone statues of much later periods. The tendency seems to be, to have the surfaces square and unrounded: the much developed lateral muscles of the thigh and calf we find, however, occupied the sculptor's attention; but the hands and feet are always feebly given. Green paint, a peculiarity of the oldest time, is still to be seen about the eyes and bracelets. Another archaic statue, now in Berlin, is that of the official Amten. A few other less-known archaic figures have been found in these tombs of Memphis, and are now in Boolak, all marked by this curious band of green paint as well as by undecided and feeble execution.⁵⁹

But the majority of the works from the oldest tombs are marked by singular skill of workmanship, and lifelikeness in the faces. Of these the eminent Fergusson says, "Nothing more wonderfully truthful and realistic has been done, till the invention of photography; and even that can hardly represent a man with such unflattering truthfulness as these old portraits of the rich, sleek men of the pyramid period." The most of these figures represent dignitaries of state, civil and religious; one of a cook, or master of the wardrobe, suggest-

ing the prominent part played by the chief baker in the story of Joseph in Egypt. Not infrequently their wives, sisters, and children appear with these lords of the land. We see these tomb-figures in various positions, some seated on high chairs, others on the ground with legs crossed, and having on their knees a partly unrolled papyrus, doubtless representing the "Book of the Dead," for the guidance of departed souls: again, they appear writing, like the famous Scribe in the Louvre. Occasionally they are found kneeling, with hands folded, and very frequently standing with left foot advanced, and *baton* of command in hand, or with both hands hanging at the side, holding papyrus-rolls.

Most ancient among these are those remarkable limestone figures in Boolak, somewhat less than life-size, representing Ra-hotep, "a prince of the blood and general of infantry," and his sister or wife in a snow-white garment (Fig. 5). These two statues, seated side by side, were found in a tomb at Meidoom. The archaic form of this structure, and the occurrence of the name of Snefroo, first king of

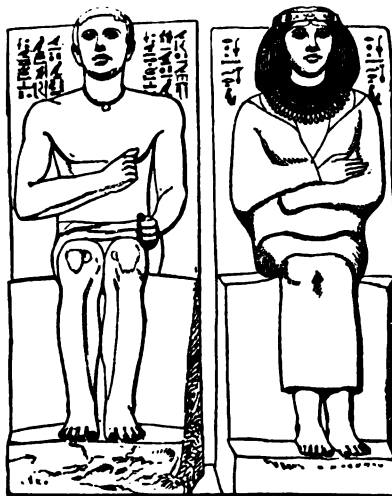


Fig. 5. Portrait Statues of Ra-hotep and Nefert. Boolak. Cairo.



Fig. 6. Profile of Ra-hotep.

the Fourth Dynasty, in a neighboring tomb of similar build, make it certain that these admirable statues date back from that remotest historic past.⁶⁰ In Ra-hotep's statue, hands and feet, the stumbling-block of the Egyptian sculptor, are sadly defective; but the closely shorn head, and animated face with its intent, upward gaze, have a forcible naturalness, which extends as well to the strong frame, and distended muscles of the arm, raised as if gesturing. The profile (Fig. 6) of this ancient soldier, whose military glory dates from so many thousands of years ago, awakens much respect for his character, but more for the artist who has caught and rendered it so well. The Lady

Nefert (the beautiful) is simply styled the "relative of the king." Although she sits silent, her arms folded across her chest, still, on gazing into her eyes of

crystal (Fig. 7), and watching her speaking lips, we seem to know her very thoughts. Her bunchy *coiffure* reminds one that it was usual in those ancient days to wear a wig instead of the modern turban, as protection against the scorching sun. Nefert's closely fitting snow-white garment beautifully suggests a form in keeping with her rich, voluptuous face. A necklace, and band about her hair, are all the ornaments she wears; the grace of her

whole appearance being due to charms the sculptor has evidently caught from life.



Fig. 7. Face of Nefert.

To a somewhat later period, the Fifth Dynasty, belongs that celebrated wooden figure, now in Boolak, which, at the Paris exposition of 1867, startled the modern world from its false dream as to the rigidity and cold conservatism of all Egyptian statuary. This statue (Fig. 2, p. 17), about 1.10 meter in height, with its round, intelligent face and obese form, shows us, not one of the attenuated, wiry, southern Egyptians, but a type frequent among the villages of the Delta. When first discovered, the Arabs were struck with its resemblance to their own corpulent village chief, and at once called it

Sheik-el-Beled (village chief). Although the lower part of the statue, with its inscription, is lost, and the legs had to be restored, we learn from the tomb in which it was found, that one Ra-em-ka, a man who had held, among other offices, that of governor of several provinces under different kings of the Fifth Dynasty, was buried there. Ra-em-ka's front and back are strongly portrait-like, and detailed in execution; although the coating of stucco and paint is now gone. We see a man who has become corpulent with increasing years, but whose fat sags as he grows old. Around his waist is bound a short petticoat, lying in folds in front, the rest of his form being nude, as was natural in a hot climate. The naturalness of the body is intensified in the round head, with its short hair, and speaking mouth and eyes, animated as by a smile. The construction of the eyes makes them lifelike to an almost disturbing degree. They are of that peculiar and somewhat intricate workmanship, employed in Cheops' time,⁶¹ in which envelopes of bronze served as lids, into which was inserted a piece of opaque white quartz. Into this was introduced another piece of crystal, having in its middle a shining nail, which gives the eye its startling and lifelike expression.

The figure of Ra-em-ka's wife, of blacker wood, and found in the same tomb, has, on the other hand, a different character. Although head and torso alone are preserved, we can nevertheless detect in this less realistic fragment an elegance lacking in the comfortable form of the worthy spouse himself. Clothed with a tight robe, her body resembles that of Egyptian women of to-day, having slender hips and lean arms.

The statue of Ra-nefer, likewise an official of the Fifth Dynasty, and, according to the inscription, a priest of Ptah and Sokar, is of quite a different character from that of the jovial Ra-em-ka. In his limestone statue at Boolak, 1.73 meter in height, Ra-nefer stands before us in hieratic attitude, with left foot advanced, both arms dropped at his side, and holding tightly in each hand a papyrus-rod. Around his loins is a scant apron, the Egyptian *shenti*. His face has speaking portrait features; and his form, skilfully rendered, is like that of the modern fellah of upper Egypt, lean, as if dried by the burning sun under which he lived.

The famous Scribe of the Louvre (Fig. 8) is better known than the statues thus far discussed. This limestone figure is seated in Turkish fashion, an attitude by no means easy to express in sculpture. This speaking face and lean form belong to Skemka, the scribe, who seems here busily engaged with his professional duties, as he, doubtless, often was in life, while recording for his master. A reddish tone covers his skin, and his eye is of the intricate workmanship of many statues of this time.

From this unattractive face let us turn to regard that magnificent fragment in the British Museum, the head of a benignant old aristocrat in calcareous stone (Fig. 9). We see here how admirably the ancient sculptor performed the task — confessedly one



Fig. 8. The Scribe. Louvre.

of unusual difficulty — of portraying character in life-size forms. A certain kindliness of expression, combined with the flaccidity of age in the skin, suggests the work of some Egyptian Holbein. The large, wavy wig, the fresh naturalness in treatment, as well as the site of discovery, Memphis, mark this nobleman as a representative of the pyramid period. This and other works prove, that, in statues of that earliest time, the ear had its natural position in the head, and that the eyes were not elongated by strips extending to the ears, or the eyebrows expressed by elevated bands, as they were in much later

statues, like the colossal rose-granite head of Thothmes III., in the British Museum (Fig. 25). The rare rendering of the skin in this Memphitic head is never met with in late Egyptian works, seldom even in Græco-Roman art, but constitutes one of the royal peculiarities of Greek art in its prime.

A remarkable statue of a dwarf, now in Boolak, might be taken to represent one who had held the position of court-fool, as this office existed under the Pharaohs. The inscription tells us, however, that he was either a cook or chief of perfumers, Nem-hotep by name; and judging from the beauty of the tomb

he has built for himself, near the pyramids where his statue was found, he must have enjoyed great favor and wealth. There is nothing conventional in his freely moving legs and arms. The thick-set, corpulent form of this grotesque figure seems full of life, as we see him rolling along with straddling gait, his mouth encircled by an expression of satirical humor.^{61a}

Besides these statues, there are many others of humbler type from this remote date, but no less interesting on account of their varied and pleasing character. These works, representing servants or mourners, unlike the statues of their masters, have great diversity of pose. We see a youth on his knees (Fig. 10), rolling out bread, doubtless for his master, interred in the tomb. Form and face are those of the ungainly dwellers on the Nile; but his limbs are well rounded, his pose natural, and instinct with free life. So,

also, a remarkable collection of six statues, now in the Boolak Museum, each about forty-two centimeters high, reveal the ancient sculptor's skill in representing various positions.⁶² We see the cook with hands deep in the dough, or on bended knees rolling it out. These statues could scarcely seem more life-like did we recall the fact, recorded by Mariette, that in Nubia, even to-day, women wear the same head-dress, — take the same pose, and use the same kind of utensils, in making bread.

Another figure, seated on the ground with both knees up, holds between them a vase, into which he thrusts his right hand. Another sits with both knees up, and one arm thrown over his head, as though in the attitude of



Fig. 9. British Museum.

mourning. Still another quietly kneels on the ground, with hands folded together, and a smiling, expectant look on his face. A youth carries a sack over one shoulder, and holds a bunch of flowers in the free hand. This figure upsets the theory once held, that the Egyptians never represented the human form in entire nudity.

But, besides these statues in wood and stone, a few in bronze have also been discovered which seem to mount up to this high antiquity. The use of bronze in Egypt, at a very early date, is confirmed by inscriptions as old as the pyramids, and the discovery of this metal in the Great Pyramid, as well as the existence of the bronze ferule from Pepi's sceptre (Sixth Dynasty), now in the British Museum.

A bronze, sixty-seven centimeters high, belonging to M. Gustave Posno, has the stocky form, round features, and thick hair, of the wood and stone statues of the Memphitic period, besides their careful rendering of the muscles of arms and legs, as well as details of the knee. The technical perfection of this figure is most noteworthy. The oldest existing bronzes from Greece or Etruria are rudely cast in one solid mass; but, in this bronze figure of thousands of years ago, we have the perfected and far more skilful hollow casting, all the irregularities of the surface being repeated in the interior. Trunk, legs, and head are in one piece, the arms alone being attached; and yet the bronze is thin and light, the outer surface being skilfully finished by the use of chisellers' tools.⁶³



Fig. 10. *Boy Kneading. Boolak. Cairo.*

Besides such single statues, there are many groups, offering in their composition the original motives for later works. Sometimes the man is represented as seated, his wife standing beside him, and having one arm over his shoulder as if to express affection.

The bulk of statues from the Memphitic period are in wood, or soft calcareous stone. But still others have been found in hardest diorite and basalt. Such are the eight statues of King Chephren, the builder of the second pyramid. These were discovered in a well full of water in the so-called Temple of the Great Sphinx, and are now in the Boolak collection. In the most famous of these the sculptor has represented the king in somewhat more than life-size, 1.06 meter in height (Fig. 11). The inscription on the pedestal removes all doubt as to its being a representation of the all-ruling Chephren, who sits

before us on a rich throne, with the grave dignity of one believed to be a god. The arms of his throne end in lions' heads, its legs in claws; and its sides are decorated with the symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt, — stalks of lotus and papyrus, twined about the letter standing for union. Unlike the statues of common men of this Memphitic age, the heads of many of which are bare, or covered with a cumbrous wig, here a stiffly regular head-dress, the royal *klaft*, surmounts the locks in front; and the sacred hawk, with outstretched wings, hovers over the back of the head; while a square-shaped beard hangs from the chin. Although there seems an attempt here to raise the figure of the king above the common herd, yet the portrait features are unmistakable; and he appears as he did while ruling among men. The broad shoulders, vigorous chest, and thoroughly executed knees, show in the sculptor a powerful hand, little baffled by the obdurate material, a stone even harder than porphyry. The fragment of another of these statues of King Chephren, a head in basalt, also at Boolak, represents this god-king in the wane of life, aged and wrinkled, but with all the dignity of the statue just described.



Fig. 11. King Chephren. Boolak. Cairo.

Although there is something monotonous in the frequent repetition of seated and kneeling statues, the variety of pose is greater than in later art; and there is little of that constraint given to later statues by the invariable pilaster left at the back. The sense of nature indicated by the curving shoulders and the swelling back of

statues of this period in the British Museum is most pleasing, and disproves the assertion, that Egypt did not and could not produce full statues in the round.

In all these statues of the Memphitic age, with their varied poses, speaking faces, naturalistic forms, the artist's freedom is apparent. Frequently the only conventionalism suggested by these heads is seen in the arrangement of the wig, doubtless following the prevailing fashion, which seems frequently to have been changed. According to Mariette, in the Third, and early part of the Fourth, Dynasty, the wig is large, spreading out over the shoulders, but generally leaving the ears uncovered: later, the round, smiling, kindly face peers out from a wig which more frequently covers the ears.

In these ancient statues the form is, as a rule, stocky and thick-set, having

lean extremities; and great care may be noticed in the representation of many parts, *e.g.*, the muscles about the knee-pan. Thus, in the sturdy walking figure in the British Museum from Gizeh,⁶⁴ there is a careful study of nature. Veins, and gentle tissues of skin, are indeed wanting on this tawny body; and we cannot expect, in the lean form of the usual Egyptian, subjected to this hot climate, to find all the delicate play of transparent skin and full-flowing muscle possessed by people of a moister clime. The favorite material of this ancient empire, wood and soft limestone, as much easier to manipulate than the hard granite, porphyry, etc., may account for much of the admirable freedom in the sculptor's work. The sycamore, acacia, and ebony in use, were, it must be remembered, in the dry climate of Egypt, nearly as imperishable as stone, and were made still more enduring, as well as lifelike, by a fine coating of gauze, over which was placed a thin layer of stucco, afterwards painted and gilded. Even stone received color whose brilliancy is often well preserved, as admirably illustrated in the treasures of Boolak.

But, while thus faithfully portraying life, it must be said, that the sculptors of the Ancient Empire, like their successors, do not go beyond the simple representation of existence; the passions and emotions being seldom, if ever, expressed. We may almost believe, that passion could not have furrowed the ancient Egyptian's brow, so calm is the language of his art. His lifelike, realistic statues can never enkindle that enthusiasm produced by works in which poetic grace, masterly composition, and soul expression, combine to charm the eye. But, to do justice to those old carvers, let us bear in mind the limits placed upon them by the prosaic spirit of their practical countrymen, who required faithful counterfeits of themselves for their tombs. The physique and physiognomy of his race, not graceful and beautiful, but ungainly, were, therefore, of untold influence upon the sculptor. Granted, moreover, that he had been capable of so doing, he would have had little encouragement to represent heroic action, and create ideal artistic works, knowing that they were to be forever buried in the tomb, to keep company with the mummy. Moreover, to the Egyptians excited action or great emotion would have been unbecoming in the image of him who simply awaited the dawn of that day when he should again see body and soul united.

We are, moreover, surprised to find, that the statues of that olden time are in no way subservient to the architecture, neither decorating nor supporting it. Imprisoned in the *serdāb*, they are found arranged in rows along the wall, as though awaiting the service to be paid them; as much freedom as is possible being given each statue without exposing it to breakage.

But, leaving the statues and groups in the dark *serdābs* they inhabited, let us glance at the gayly hued reliefs lining the tomb-chapels of this ancient period. In later times an army of strange, fantastic gods invaded the chamber; but, in these older tombs, every thing is as little funereal as possible; and we

look in vain for even a single representation of the divinity on the walls. Representative of these reliefs are the carefully carved and gayly painted scenes preserved for us in the tomb of Ti, discovered at Sakkarah. Ti, we are informed by the inscription on his stele, was a civil dignitary of highest rank, serving under three monarchs of the Fifth Dynasty. In addition to high civil honors, he also held an important sacerdotal office at the tombs of the kings

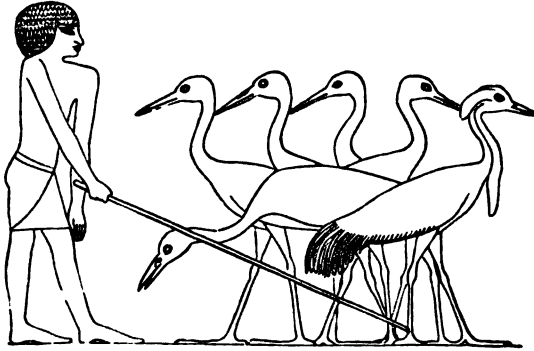


Fig. 12. Relief from Ti's Tomb. Sakkarah.

of the pyramids of Abusir. His figure appears repeatedly on the walls of his chapel, now surrounded by his friends, now superintending various rural scenes. We see him being entertained by music and dancing. Again, he is shooting aquatic birds in the marshes, or hunting hippopotami from a papyrus-boat. Fish sport in the water; and birds sit on their nests, or fly about among

the papyrus. In another place Ti's form towers up among pastoral scenes. An overseer gives orders for milking; and well has the artist caught the impudent kick of the tethered calf, the beauty of a flock of downy cranes (Fig. 12), and stolid life of a drove of asses (Fig. 13), carved here to delight the eyes of Ti in his long home. In one case a driver, provoked by the stubbornness of a dumb array of asses, utters the well-deserved threat, "People love those who go quickly, but strike the lazy."

Other scenes on the tomb-walls represent the transportation of Ti's statue, and the wafting of incense by friends at the opening of the *serdāb*. Hieroglyphics offer explanations here also, such as "This is the statue in thorn acacia," or "This is the statue in ebony they are drawing." "The servants pour water" is the inscription opposite a servant who is wetting the runners on which the statue is being dragged.

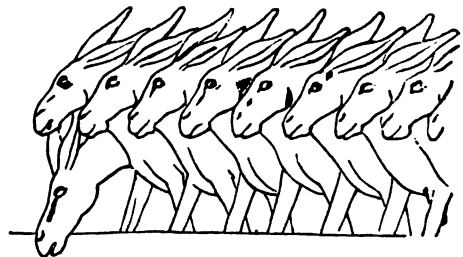


Fig. 13. Asses in Relief in Ti's Tomb. Sakkarah.

The superiority of the brute to the human form is noticeable in all these reliefs, as well as of Ti's portrait-like face to his body. This latter defect may be seen in another set of reliefs of older date, but of superior execution, on the four wooden panels discovered at Sakkarah in Hosi's tomb.⁶⁵ They represent scribes, favorites of the king; the one before a table of offering being Pekhesi, the standing one Ra-hesi (Fig. 14). These panels lined mock doors, such as are found on the west side of every tomb, and seem intended as an entrance

to the world of shades beyond the setting sun. Unlike the usual stone linings of the chapels, these reliefs from Hosi's tomb are of wood; and the tomb itself was constructed of unbaked yellow brick, — facts which indicate its very great age, although the artistic skill manifested surpasses that in later reliefs. Seated or standing, the human figure is taller and more slender than the usual representation of the people of this ancient empire. The finely formed portrait heads, aquiline noses, strongly marked jawbones, thin lips, and arching insteps, have nothing in common with the round noses, full lips, stocky forms, and flat feet, of other tomb-reliefs from the pyramid period. The detailed anatomy about the collar-bones is well-nigh unique in Egyptian relief, and shows a truly artistic hand. And yet these excellences are united to strange defects. The head, in profile, rests on shoulders in full front view; while loins and legs are twisted back again into profile. There seems here an avoiding of difficulties, and a simple representation of things without regard to their actual appearance.

In explanation of these faults, so prevalent in all Egyptian relief, it should be remembered, that the human figure formed a part of the writing, as may be seen on these very wooden reliefs from Hosi's tomb (Fig. 14).



Fig. 14. *Wooden Linings of Doors from Tomb of Hosi. Boolak. Cairo.*

The human form, thus made to stand for definite ideas, and fixed in faulty forms during the infancy of art, could not have been changed without causing confusion in the meaning. It would, therefore, naturally become, in the course of time, inviolate. Repeated attempts to introduce a truer profile are seen in reliefs of different ages, but the innovations of random artists were not accepted; and it may, doubtless, with truth be said, that in relief, at least, "writing killed art."⁶⁶

Throughout these reliefs the colossal form of the all-important tomb-owner towers up among the minor actors, scattered over the walls; and the explanatory inscriptions among them give the reliefs still more the character

of a very detailed written story, lacking in poetry of form. It is most evident, that the sculptor did not intend to present graceful and ideal scenes, but simply strove to make vivid what he daily witnessed, arranging his matter according to the horizontal and perpendicular lines of the writing. The dread of destruction of these reliefs doubtless influenced the Egyptian to make them very low; and, although architectural harmony of effect was thus secured, the sculptures necessarily received a sketchy and summary treatment. To make more emphatic the relief, the artist had recourse to various expedients. Did he wish to indicate projecting eyebrows, he prolonged them in a slightly raised line to the ear; did he wish to indicate the arm across the chest, he separated it by two depressions in the body, following the outline of the arm; and, finally, what sculpture could not represent, he brought out by color.⁶⁷

In executing this multitude of scenes, as we learn from an unfinished tomb removed to Berlin by Lepsius, the surface to be worked up was first covered by regular squares in red. In these a scribe sketched in red ochre a few outlines of the subjects to be represented. This drawing was then filled out by an inferior workman, still in red. A more skilful hand then passed over it with black, correcting any errors, thus preparing it for the sculptor's chisel. Finally, painting came to complete the work; the most conspicuous tints being black, reddish brown, pale brown, yellow, light and dark blue, and green, the parts intended to be white being left the natural color of the stone. Women, if Egyptians, always have, as the fairer sex, pale-yellow complexions, and men a heavier reddish-brown skin. Metals receive also conventional colors, iron being blue, bronze yellow or red: wood is brown, and, when in logs, a greenish gray. Animals receive more natural colors; cows, calves, and asses being represented as black, brown, and dappled. How cheery must have been the impression on the visitor of the chapels, made by all these familiar scenes so gayly and harmoniously colored!

Artistic representations of the gods are wanting in the tombs of the Memphitic period, although the names of all the gods worshipped in later times are met with in the inscriptions of this oldest period.⁶⁸ But, though not pictured in the tombs, hybrid forms of the gods existed even then; as we know from one of the most ancient reliefs extant, discovered on the peninsula of Sinai.⁶⁹ That being a region rich in mines of copper and turquoise, the Egyptian monarchs, at different times, sent thither their armies to conquer the opposing Asiatics. The tradition was, that the precious minerals in this valley owed their discovery to an inscription written in the rock, not by the hand of man, but by the god Thoth himself,—the scribe of the gods and the inventor of many useful arts and sciences, such as speech, writing, music, and astronomy. This ancient relief at Sinai (Fig. 15) commemorates the bravery of the great Cheops (Khoofoo of the Fourth Dynasty), and represents the monarch as attacking a fallen Asiatic in the presence of the god Thoth, who has the head of an

ibis, the bird sacred to that deity, on a full human body. The inscription leaves no doubt as to the age of this representation of the deity, and reads "Khoom Khoofoo, the great god, having life and health behind him, subduer of the An foreigners."

The other representation of deity from this remote age, perhaps the best known to the modern world of all Egyptian monuments, is the great Sphinx at Gizeh (Fig. 1, p. 14). This most prominent feature of the landscape has been for thousands of years the object of wonder and veneration, and, as indicated by an inscription now in the Boolak Museum, even in Cheops' time needed and received repairs.⁷⁰ The colossal form, 652.46 meters long (172 feet), is cut out of the natural rock, and represents a crouching lion, surmounted by a human head, parts of which are constructed with layers of massive masonry. Over the whole, color, seen in Pliny's time, and still evident in places, cast its protecting brilliant mantle.⁷¹ This mysterious Sphinx has been repeatedly excavated from its shroud of desert sand, and its lofty back mounted with ladders, but only again to be half buried from view in the drear waste. Fully excavated, its gigantic form would tower up to a height equalling that of a five-story house; and of the size of the face we may form some idea from the fact, that one standing on the upper lobe of the ear has difficulty in reaching with outstretched hand the top of the head. The Arabs call it "Abou-l-hol," the Father of Fear. To the Egyptians of ancient days it was, however, the form of one of their highest gods, Hor-em-khoo, Horus on the horizon, or the rising sun, and, watching over the vast necropolis at its feet, may have meant resurrection, and conquest over death. This gigantic apparition on the borders of the desert, with its boldness and energy of execution, illustrates powerfully that mysterious symbolism, so full of high spiritual significance to the Egyptians, but is to us still full of mystery. Was this giant of the desert the portrait of some king, like other sphinxes of later days? Did it have, like the rest, its mate? And why did it receive a form so much more colossal than that of all other known sphinxes?

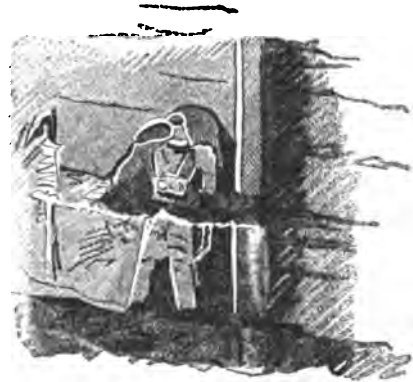


Fig. 15. Relief of the God Thoth. Sinal.

While this one monument, and, perhaps, some of the symbolic forms of the gods, seem to indicate an ideal tendency in the Egyptian mind, the main character of the sculptures of the Ancient Empire is realistic, and, indeed, distinctly portrait-like, as we have seen from the study of its tombs.

CHAPTER III.

THE THEBAN EMPIRE.

Old Theban Empire. — Historical Introduction. — Change in Art. — Abydos, its Tombs. — Beni-Hassan and Sioot, Rock-hewn Tombs. — Colossi. — Conventionalism. — *Shabti*, their Significance. — Reliefs of this Age. — Statues of Pharaoh. — Statues of Subjects. — Priest of Ammon. — *Résumé*. — Hyksos Monuments. — The New Theban Empire. — Historical Introduction. — Fluctuations of Art. — Size and Extent of Monuments. — Monolith of Rameses II. — Tomb Temples, Private and Royal, their Contents. — Significance of their Reliefs. — Osiris. — Absence of *Serdabs*. — Funereal Temples. — Temple Reliefs. — Ramesseion. — Colossi in Temples. — Memnon Colossi. — National Sanctuaries. — Temples of Luxor and Karnak, their Statues. — Avenues of Sphinxes. — Lion Sphinxes. — Ram-headed Sphinxes. — Rock Temple at Abou-Simbel. — Colossi of Rameses the Great. — Statues of Gods in Temples. — Their Mysterious Form and Numbers. — Statuettes in Private Houses. — Those in the Sand. — Egyptians' Feeling with Regard to Desert Sand. — Sculptors' Aim at Portraiture. — Khoo-en-aten. — Statue of Rameses II, Turin. — Rendering of Race Peculiarities. — Dancing Girl. — Relief of Seti I. — Battle Scenes. — Causes of Shortcomings in Relief at this Time. — Sculptors. — Mertesén and Aoota. — Sculptors' Models. — Methods of this Age. — *Résumé*.

AT the close of the four obscure dynasties which terminated the Memphitic period, we find that the centre of empire had passed from Memphis to Thebes. The era thus introduced lasted through many centuries from the Eleventh to the Twenty-first Dynasty, and is divided by the invasion of the Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings," into two empires, — first, the Old Theban Empire, from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth Dynasty; and, second, the New Theban Empire, lasting from the Seventeenth to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

With the first kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, Egypt seems to be waking from a long sleep. Her ancient traditions are apparently half forgotten; the proper names, titles, and the writing itself, all seem new; and, if we may judge from the monuments, a race of more slender build now occupy the land. The style of the monuments at first seems rude, but by the Twelfth Dynasty the mighty forms of the Oosertesens and Amenemhas appear. The boundaries now extend from the Mediterranean on the north to the land of the Cushites in the south; and the stupendous plan is carried out of hoarding up the waters of the Nile in a lake, the Mœris of the Greeks, a reserve to be used in years of drought. Monuments, discovered at Tanis and Abydos, show, that under the Nofre-hoteps and Sebek-hoteps of the Thirteenth Dynasty, as well as during the following, the Fourteenth Dynasty, Egypt had lost nothing of her political

prosperity. But suddenly a people, whom Manetho calls Hyksos, or Shepherds, poured in from the coasts of Asia along the frontiers of the Delta, massacring, plundering temples, and imposing a yoke of blood and iron upon the northern provinces. For several centuries the Theban kings were probably tributary to these invaders, who, although they did not extinguish Egyptian civilization, seem for a while to have checked its course. The ensuing Fifteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties bear witness to this blank in their utter lack of monuments. By the Seventeenth Dynasty, however, the night which had so long hung over Egypt seems to have yielded to dawning day. In Lower Egypt the Hyksos kings still ruled, but the civilization of the conquered nation must by that time have re-acted upon them in their religion and arts: they appear to have adorned the Temple of Tanis with sphinxes, having, however, human heads of an un-Egyptian type (Fig. 16). They adopted the gods of their subjects, adding, however, a deity of their own, Sutekh, whom they made the head of the Pantheon. But the native kings at Thebes did not long endure the presence of these foreign rulers, and, after a successful rebellion, expelled them from their valley.⁷²



Fig. 16. Sphinx from Tanis. Boolak. Cairo.

I.—THE OLD THEBAN EMPIRE.

At the opening of the Old Theban Empire, as in the preceding Memphitic age, the tomb is still the source from whence our knowledge of sculpture is obtained. We find now, that the attractive tomb-sculptures of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties have given place to the rude works of the insignificant time of the Entefs and Mentoo-hoteps. This appears not only in the primitive reliefs at Drah-aboo-l-neggah at Thebes: the architecture, the sarcophagi, and hieroglyphics, all share in the general feebleness of execution. During the following, the Twelfth Dynasty, the sculptor seems to have regained what he had lost, carrying out traditions inherited from that hoary ancestry, but remodeling them according to the new time, and thus inaugurating what may be called the first renaissance in Egyptian art.

The tombs now vary in construction, as well as sculptural finish, with their

site; those found on the plain at Abydos being quite different from those hewn in the mountain side at Beni-Hassan and Sioot.⁷³

Abydos, in Upper Egypt, was believed to be the spot where Osiris, the great god of the dead, was buried; and hence it became to the Egyptians what the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem has been to the Christian world. Here they chose to be buried, or, at least, to have a commemorative tombstone; and here a vast necropolis, excavated by Mariette, is still to be seen, harboring the dead from the remotest ages of Egyptian history down to the fall of the gods. The tombs here found, belonging to the Old Theban Empire, consist of small, slender pyramids, in which are deposited the mummies; a chapel, or simply an outside tombstone (stele), sometimes adjoining the structure. This vast field of slender pyramids must once have given the impression of an encampment of tents. Very few statues have been discovered here, but countless tombstones, on which the deceased appears in relief before a table richly laden down with offerings, food for the hungry *Ka*. As yet no figures of gods appear in the tomb; but the members of the family occupy the relief, sometimes kneeling, or otherwise offering adoration to the departed.

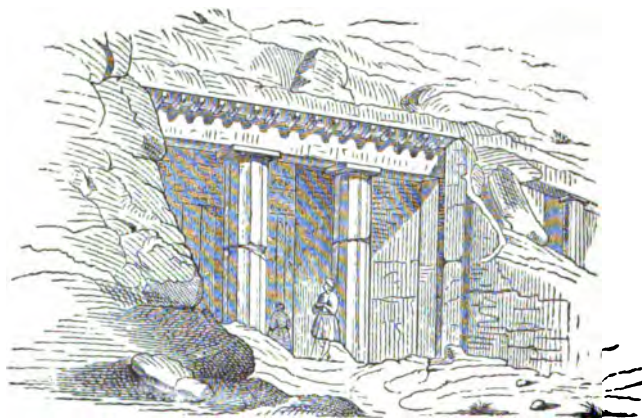


Fig. 17. Entrance to Rock-Tomb at Beni-Hassan.

Quite different are the tombs of this age at Beni-Hassan and Sioot. These are hewn in the mountain side, and were the stately burial-places of great feudal lords of the Twelfth Dynasty. A portico, supported by massive pillars, leads into the tomb-chapel, also dug out in the native rock (Fig. 17). The sombre *serdāb* of the Memphitic age, with its twenty or more statues, has disappeared. The statues of the deceased, now greatly reduced in number, occupy niches in this chapel itself, or kneel between its columns. Magnificence and a desire for colossal proportions seem now to have gained the ascendancy, as appears, not only from the architectural character of these rock tombs, but also from the greater size and more obdurate material of their statues. In the tombs of the Memphitic Empire, as for instance in those of Ras-hospes and of Ti,

the statues for the *Ka* were of moderate size, and in wood, or soft calcareous stone: but, in one of the tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty, a picture represents a colossal statue which seventy-two men are dragging to its destination; the ponderous stone figure of the deceased towering high above their heads.⁷⁴

In the statues preserved from this period, we find that the artistic rendering is also different from that in works of the Memphitic age. The forms are more slender and the figures more bony than the stocky forms of the Ancient Empire. The figure is rendered with more conventionalism; although in individual parts, as in the knee and leg, there is still evident a regard for nature; and, in the face, portrait features are represented.

While the naive portrait statues of older times within the *serdāb* thus fade from view, supplanted by these later conventional figures, we find that the mummy-chamber, formerly occupied by the solitary sarcophagus, now receives, in addition, a population of statuettes called *shabti*, "respondents," which may be seen in great numbers in all our museums.⁷⁵ They have been found in the tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty, and continued to be used throughout Egyptian history. These little figures, varying from a few centimeters to a meter in height, are frequently found by hundreds, covering the floor of the mummy-chamber, or safely packed away in boxes made for the purpose. Their shapes are diverse, sometimes representing the deceased standing in the dress of the period, but generally taking a mummy-form. In the latter case the hands are crossed on the chest, usually holding a mattock or hoe, used in agriculture, which often has a sack of seed hanging from it (Fig. 18). The head with its wig, or, as in the case of monarchs, with the *uraeus*, the emblem of royalty, is seldom a portrait; although a few figures have been found with individual traits. The material of which these *shabti* are composed is alabaster, lime-stone, black granite, and bronze, often exquisitely enamelled; but more usually they are of blue or gray porcelain, inaccurately termed "Egyptian porcelain." They represent the deceased whose name is generally inscribed upon them; but the fact that the name is sometimes left blank shows that they were articles of common trade, to which friends added the name of their dead.

But to what purpose are these indefinite multiplications of the figure of the deceased thus made to accompany his mummy? Although their origin may be traceable to the material faiths of the Memphitic period, yet they seem to indicate a more elaborated view of the future life than appears in the older tombs. The experiences of life, resulting from wrong-doing, seem to have awakened among the Nile inhabitants an idea, that, for the shortcomings on earth, either retribution must be suffered or atonement made in the future



Fig. 18. Funereal Statuette. British Museum.

world. Consequently, the soul after death had many ordeals of purification to pass through before it could enter definitely into its eternal happiness. This Egyptian purgatory and its labors were conceived of as having all the features of the Nile valley itself. Here, before the soul could find rest, vast fields intersected by rivers and canals must be tilled, and made to bear fruit, by the labors of the dead. Sometimes, pictured in the "Book of the Dead," a lady is seen driving the plough: again, it is a man who ploughs, sows, cuts the ripe grain, and drives the cattle who tread it out (Fig. 19). Lest, however, the deceased come short in his trying ordeal, or, perchance, be wearied in his tasks, swarms of these little helpful *shabti*, or respondents, were placed with the mummy. In the "Book of the Dead" one chapter, the one hundred and tenth, is devoted to

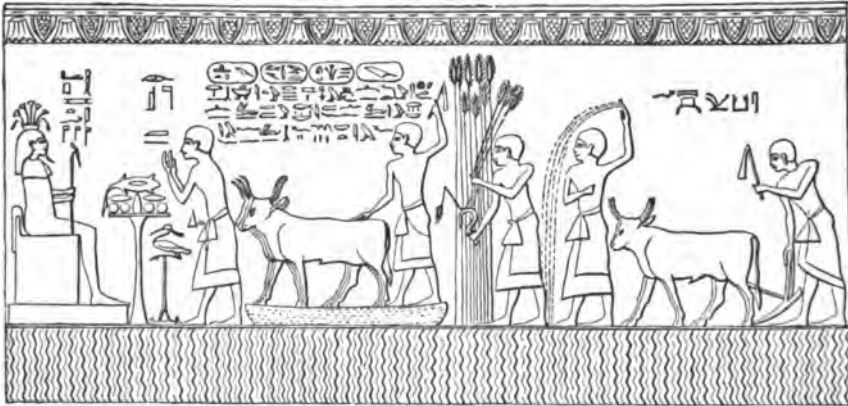


Fig. 19. Tilling the Fields of the Egyptian Purgatory. From the "Book of the Dead."

these labors; and another, the sixth, which was often inscribed upon these statuettes, is entitled, "The chapter of making the working figures in the Kerner" (Hades).

A strange form among these *shabti* is that in which the dead is wrapped in his shroud, and appears lying on his bed with upturned face, as if awaiting the resurrection; while a bird with human head and arms, representing the soul of the departed, stands beside him, and puts its hands on his chest, as if also awaiting the happy re-union of soul and body. Inscriptions on these reclining figures show that they all are to share in the toils of the eternal fields. The finding of unfinished moulds for such figurines and amulets at Thebes, together with what are believed to be models in stone for sculptors, as well as the excellence of the earlier specimens of these *shabti*, greatly enhance their art value.

In the tombs of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, the walls of the chapel are lined with reliefs, and still more frequently paintings, the subjects being much the same as those of the Memphitic period. Rural and family scenes still interest us, and as yet no figures of the gods intrude. We frequently see the hunter returning from the chase, carrying the game, with his

dog by his side (Fig. 20). But, as a rule, in the reliefs of this period the same falling-off is noticeable as in the statues. Conventionalism stalks forward with steady strides. The homely freshness of nature in the older reliefs fades before the stiffness of academic rule. Traditional groupings and gestures appear in hackneyed repetitions.

At this time we still find the Pharaoh absorbing much of the sculptor's best powers, the result being statues, so highly prized in later dynasties as to have been appropriated by their monarchs as portraits of themselves. Thus the stately figures of Oosertesén, which, doubtless, once decorated the sides of a gateway from the ruined temple at Tanis, were usurped by later Pharaohs, and received the cartouche of Rameses III. and of Menephtah. The pyramids on the islands of Lake Mœris were, according to Herodotos, surmounted by colossal royal statues; but such strangely decorated monuments, if they existed, are thoroughly ruined: and little now remains except the barest traces of the pyramids themselves.⁷⁶

The vestiges of temples from this age are few. Later generations seem to have torn them down, to build up more gorgeous edifices; and, of the sculptures which once occupied them, naturally little has been found.

A most interesting assemblage of figures, discovered by Mariette in the oldest part of the great temple at Karnak, shows, however, that other statues than those of the Pharaoh then found their way into the sacred building, but, as inscriptions teach us, usually by favor of the monarch.⁷⁷ Sometimes the Pharaoh rewarded a distinguished subject by thus recommending him to the favor of the gods. This group of fourteen figures from Karnak, dating back to the Twelfth Dynasty, enables us to conjecture the place which statues of this kind held in the sacred building. These statues were found arranged in a row on a long, breast-high pedestal. One kneels on one knee. One, like the Louvre Scribe, sits *à la Turc*, holding a papyrus-roll. Another is in the ancient attitude of praise, with his knees drawn up to his chin, — a common attitude among modern Egyptians while at rest. One of these figures is repeated three times in different poses; and if an exact portrait, as it seems to be, the original must have been decidedly a *bon vivant*, none too agreeable to look upon. On another of these statues, found at Karnak, besides the usual dedicatory inscription to the gods, is one in which the deceased informs us, that he was a distinguished man of letters in his day, that he was initiated in all the



Fig. 20. Hunting-Scene. Leii-Hassan.

mysteries of the god Thoth, and because of great civil services in guarding Thebes, and regulating trade on the Nile, had been elevated to the rank of commander-in-chief. Besides, he tells us that he had constructed a pylon, placed in the temple-hall columns of colossal proportions, and erected to the king a statue ornamented with precious gems, taking care to add that it was of "hard stone." In this long row of sculptured figures, varying in pose and size, we see Egyptian statues, not architecturally bound, as they are generally conceived to be, but representing simply a row of worshippers, quietly awaiting within the temple the blessing they desire. Doubtless, many statues in



Fig. 21. Priest of Ammon. New-York Historical Rooms.

our museums once occupied a similar position in some old Pharaonic temple. Such may have been the statue of a scribe discovered at Thebes, and now in the New-York Historical Rooms (Fig. 21). In looking at the strikingly portrait-like and quiet, homely face of this worthy dignitary, as he sits with the papyrus-roll spread out on his lap, we almost forget the astonishing anatomy, the amusingly regular folds of his abdomen, and the impossible manner in which he crosses his legs. The badge of office over his shoulders, as well as the inscription, show that this bland ancient was once a priest of Ammon at Thebes, and not an official of the Memphitic period, as the naturalness of the face might tempt us to think.

In looking over these statues of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, we find that the sculptor does not create new types, but holds on to those familiar forms handed down from an honored past. Thus, like the seated Chephren of old, the monarch still sits solemnly erect, with hands at rest. This is well illustrated in a statue in the Louvre of Sebek-hotep of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Thus also statues of scribes, like the scribe of old, still cross their legs, as seen in the figure of Mentoo-hotep, discovered by Mariette at Karnak, and belonging to this age; so, also, the old Memphitic figure of a bread-kneader, with hands deep in the dough, is repeated in the figures of this time. In the Berlin Museum such are to be seen, accom-

panying the sarcophagus of Mentoo-hotep, palace inspector in Thebes, during the Eleventh Dynasty.⁷⁸

After the brilliant reigns of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties came the gloomy invasion of the Hyksos. Very few monuments from this troubled period are preserved. At Tanis, which is identified with Avaris, the ancient seat of the Hyksos power, Mariette discovered, however, several very peculiar sculptures, which, although of Egyptian workmanship, have so un-Egyptian a type of face, that they have been supposed to represent some of those foreigner kings. More recent discoveries have brought to light still others of these unique statues, known as the Hyksos sculptures. On one of these, a sphinx, was found the cartouche of Apepi, known from Manetho to have been one of the Hyksos kings. But careful examination of this cartouche, and the position it occupies on the shoulder of the sphinx, have led Maspero to believe it to be due to one of the numerous arbitrary usurpations of earlier statues by later Pharaohs. The four colossal sphinxes (Fig. 16) among the number of these sculptures from Tanis were found in a sadly damaged state among the ruins of a temple. Instead of wearing the usual artificial *coiffure* of the Egyptian-Pharaoh head, a thick, lion-like mane rises up around the face; the stiff, regular chin-beard alone calling to mind the usual royal Egyptian head. The cast of the features here is strange, the cheek-bones very pronounced and broad, the face round and angular, the eyes small, the nose flat, mouth disdainful, and whole expression fiercer than in genuine Egyptian faces.

Still more remarkable than these sphinxes is a group in gray granite, also discovered by Mariette at Tanis, and now in Boolak.⁷⁹ Here two powerful figures, enough alike to represent the same person, stand side by side, holding fish, aquatic birds, and lotos in their extended hands, — offerings, no doubt, to some god. What little is left of the face, with its hair falling in long, heavy curls, and full, clustering beard, shows no resemblance to the true children of Mizraim. The view of this group at the back is noticeable, for the sculptor has spared no pains in bringing out its swell and fall; although, strangely enough, the wide space between the legs is left a solid mass.

II. — THE NEW THEBAN EMPIRE.

The expulsion of the Hyksos kings marks the dawn of that brilliant epoch termed the New Theban Empire. Under the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt speedily regained what the five centuries of invasion had cost her, and from now on through the Nineteenth Dynasty held a political position unrivalled either in earlier or later times. Conquering campaigns, far into the heart of Asia, now occupied her armies; and world conquest was the realized dream of her Pharaohs. Thothmes I. crossed the deserts between Egypt and the far-off Tigris, leaving monuments commemorative of his victories in

Assyria. His daughter, the proud Hatasoo, invaded Arabia, and brought home richest treasures and many unhappy prisoners. But no Pharaoh better deserves the name of great than her brother, Thothmes III., the Alexander of seventeen centuries before our era. Under him Egypt became the arbiter of the destinies of nations. Long before the siege of Troy, his fleets conquered Cyprus, and his armies overran Nubia and Abyssinia. During his reign, in the poetical language of the time, Egypt placed her boundaries where she chose. The undiminished empire of the Egyptians continued under the sceptres of the remaining kings of this dynasty, which counts among its rulers the illustrious names of Amenophis III. (the builder of colossal portraits of himself, the Memnon statues) and Amenophis IV., the heretic Khoo-en-aten.

Under the following dynasty, the Nineteenth, the fortunes of Egypt maintained a certain outward *éclat*; but across the glory of its warrior kings, the Setis and Rameses, was cast the shadow of coming trouble. Rebellion had now to be quelled: the widely scattered members of the empire showed signs of breaking up. Now we meet the despotic figure of Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, and oppressor of the children of Israel.⁸⁰ We see him in the fourteenth century B.C. hard pressed in battle, and hear him, in Pentaure's hymn, vow "hard stones," "eternal witnesses," to the gods of his piety; and on his safe return we see spring up on Egyptian soil countless monuments, commemorative of his great deeds. But, after his successor, decadence set in; and by the following, the Twentieth Dynasty, the great waves of triumph and glory had set back in rapid ebb, and Egypt was threatened and invaded by Ethiopians and Assyrians.

Following this ebb and flow, we see the artistic activity of the New Theban Empire, in its architectural monuments, mounting now to unrivalled heights of gorgeous display, now sinking to poor and feeble efforts, sculpture following its sister art. The inspiration of military success, contact with the outer world, and the accumulation everywhere of great riches, produced their effect. Egyptian architecture now assumed forms of colossal size, and unfolded rich variety in detail. The vast temples, with forests of columns and courts, of this age, have been the astonishment of all later time. Sculpture, both in statue and relief, accompanied architecture with greatest profusion. As existing ruins testify, it was the age of colossi. Not alone Thebes was thus rich, all the other religious or political capitals of Egypt — Abydos, Memphis, Tanis, and Sais — had their giants. This extravagant size is still more astonishing when we remember that these colossi were mostly in one block of the hardest stone, requiring for their execution untold patience and time.

The limestone monolith of Rameses II., once standing with a height of thirteen meters before the temple of Ptah at Memphis, now lies prone in the midst of a forest of palm-trees at Mitrahenny (Fig. 22). Every year, when the Nile rises, this giant is covered by the waters, the portrait-face and

admirably executed form appearing again when the waters retire. On his belt and on the scrolls in his hands he carries his titles. Guiding his steps is still to be seen the arm of his little daughter, appearing in low relief on the support of his leg. This great colossus of Rameses, with its beautiful face, together with the one of this king's wife of equal size, and the four smaller ones of his daughters, no longer extant, may have been those seen by Herodotos standing before the temple of Hephaistos at Memphis.⁸¹

Tombs, equally marvellous for their vast extent and exhaustless labor, were now carved into the very heart of the mountains. Here, also, sculpture kept pace with architecture, spreading over every surface reliefs of vast extent. But although statuary was thus stupendous, and reliefs were of such extent,



Fig. 22. *Fallen Colossus of Rameses II. Mitrahenny.*

covering tomb, temple, and pylon; although innumerable figures of gods appeared, and sphinxes lined avenues measuring more than a mile in length, — still, everywhere hardest stones, granite, porphyry, basalt, and diorite were preferred to wood and soft stone, now sparingly used.

Heretofore we have seen the tomb to be of most service in throwing light upon sculpture; but now the temple, imposing in its dimensions, forms the great centre of attraction. There is, however, among these sacred structures, a difference to be noticed, somewhat affecting their sculptural accompaniments. One class consists of great national monuments to deity: the other, erected to kings and queens, seems an outgrowth of the tomb-chapel of earlier days, which has at last attained a size so great, and an adornment so elaborate, as to be worthy of a place beside the temples of the gods.

Before considering these various temples, let us first cast a glance at the

private and royal tombs, those ambitious mummy-chambers of this empire, solemn and endless galleries, called *syringes* by the Greeks, hewn out from the bowels of the earth, opposite the city of ancient Thebes. Every traveller who has visited the desolate, wild valley called Bab-el-Moolok, and seen here the broken cliffs and crumbling rocks of the Libyan chain, pierced by these numerous royal, as well as private, tombs, has marvelled, as before the pyramids, at the perseverance of a people who spent such labor upon their last resting-places. Still greater will be his wonder on exploring these galleries and halls, which pierce over one hundred and fifty meters into the mountain side, and are lined throughout with sculptures or painting.

In private tombs, soon after entering these subterranean chambers, comes the chapel where friends once met for offering: farther on, in the remotest part, in a niche, and raised on a kind of platform, the stiff statue of the deceased was to be seen, usually accompanied by wife and children, many of which figures are now in our museums. When the occupant was possessed of sufficient means, and the tomb has been undisturbed, the sarcophagus is found in hard stone, surrounded by numberless *shabti*, and those strange vases, *canopi*, in the shape of the four genii of Ker-netter, or Hades, and holding the noble parts of the mummy. The covers of these vases have the form of the heads, either of men, animals, or birds, according to the genius represented, and abound in every Egyptian collection. On the walls of the tomb, occasionally appear in relief scenes from daily life, as in the older time; but generally these have yielded to the speechless, motionless figures of the gods.⁸²

But these private tombs are of even less interest than those of the kings themselves. In these the mortuary chamber is, likewise, dug out in the mountain side, but hidden as completely as possible from public view; while the chapel, removed to a distance, becomes a gorgeous temple. The tomb of the great Seti I., with its passages and chambers, extends for one hundred and forty-five meters into the mountain, its remotest explored end being fifty-six meters below the level of the valley; and the tomb of Rameses III. has a length of one hundred and twenty-five meters. All this vast expanse of wall, ceiling, and pillars, except the chambers of sepulture, is covered throughout with the creations of the chisel, to which the painter's brush has given an additional charm. In one of the largest tombs the excavated surfaces have an area of twenty-three thousand square feet. As no ray of sun penetrates these passages, all this work must have been executed by torchlight; and yet, although the sculptors knew that the entrance to these abodes of the mummy would be permanently concealed, and, if possible, even obliterated, they finished their decorations with the utmost care.

"Here," to use Mariette's words in describing the tomb of Seti, "the defunct is no more to be seen in his family: there is no more making of furniture, no more building of ships, no more extensive farm-yards, with oxen,

antelopes, wild goats, ducks, and cranes, marching in procession before the stewards. All has become, so to speak, fantastic and chimerical. Even the gods themselves assume strange forms. Long serpents are pictured gliding hither and thither around the rooms, or standing erect against the door-ways. Sometimes convicted malefactors are being decapitated, or precipitated into the flames. Well might a visitor feel a kind of dread creeping over him, did he not realize, that underneath these strange representations lies a most consoling dogma, vouchsafing eternal happiness to the soul after the many trials of life. Covering the walls, from the entrance to the extreme end of the chamber, are represented the many labors of the soul, separated from the body, triumphant by such virtues as it has practised on earth, and ending in the final judgment. The serpents, darting venom, and standing erect over each portal, are the guardians to the gates of heaven, which the soul cannot pass unless possessed of piety and benevolence. The long texts on other parts of the wall are magnificent hymns, to which the soul gives utterance in honor of the divinity whose glory and greatness it thus celebrates. When once the dead has been adjudged worthy of life eternal, these ordeals are at an end : he becomes part of the divine essence ; and henceforward he wanders, a pure spirit, over the vast regions where the stars forever shine. Thus the reliefs of the tombs are the emblem of the voyage of the soul to its eternal abode. From room to room we can follow its progress, as it appears before the gods, and becomes gradually purified, until at last, in the grand hall at the end of the tomb, we are present at its final admission into that life where a second death shall never reach."

This supreme regard for the inviolability of the tomb, and the careful preservation of its reliefs forever to be sealed from mortal view, seem to show with what tenacity the Egyptian held to the belief in the magical virtue of these pictured and sculptured emblems to assist the soul in its future trials. Did the god thus appear distributing reward in the tomb, the soul would, in reality, more surely receive it ; and, did the deceased appear in his tomb as journeying to the celestials, the securer would be his future bliss.

Although reliefs, figuring the gods, thus abound in these rock-tombs of the kings, statues, properly so called, are not found ; the nearest approach to them being very high relief at the extreme end of the chamber where the deceased, sometimes, is seated between two gods : and sometimes the front part of the cow-shaped goddess, Amenti, projects from the wall, as though approaching the deceased. All these gods appertain to the myth of Osiris, the solar deities being excluded from this sombre region. "The life of man is compared by the Egyptians to the course of the sun above our heads," says Mariette ; "and the sun, disappearing in the west, is the image of the deceased. Scarcely has the last moment arrived, when Osiris takes possession of the soul which he is charged to conduct to eternal life. Osiris, it was said, once descended upon

earth. A being good beyond degree, he had mollified and elevated the ways of men by persuading to good deeds. But at last he succumbed to the ambush of Typhon, the genius of evil, and was slain. While his mourning sisters, Isis and Nephthys, were searching for his body, which had been thrown into the river, the god came to life, and, appearing to his son Horus, made him his avenger. This sacrifice, once made by Osiris for man, he constantly renews in favor of the soul disengaged from its earthly ties. Not only is he its guide: he becomes identified with it, absorbs it into his own being. The dead is even called Osiris. The god must submit to all his trials, subdue the guardians of the infernal regions, and combat the companion monsters, Night and Death, before the soul can be termed 'just.' It was he who finally conquered the shades with the help of Horus, and opened the gates of eternal bliss." This doctrine seems obscure in the Memphitic and Old Theban Empire. The god of souls, though invoked in many inscriptions, is not represented in those earlier tombs; the dead himself being, as we have seen, their chief inhabitant. But, in these tombs of the New Theban Empire, statues of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys appear.

Nothing has been found in these vast subterranean chambers which corresponds to the *serdabs* of the Memphitic age, although it is probable that statues were placed in some special part; since, in the tomb of Rameses IV., inscriptions indicate that there was one room set apart for statues, and another for *shabti*. But we have clear evidence, that at this time the royal statues were placed at a distance from the mummy, in the far-off temples sacred to its service.

Turning from these rock-hewn mummy-chambers to the temples of the New Theban Empire, we find that all the temples on the left bank of the Nile at Thebes, with one exception, are funereal. Here the king should receive the offerings of his descendants; and here he was worshipped in company with the deities themselves, sculpture adding its fulsome but indispensable tribute. We find in reliefs actual history now appearing; the walls of these temples being written all over with pictures of the warlike exploits of the kings and queens, or of their victorious triumphs. Thus, in the ruins of the temple at Deir-el-Bahari, built by proud Hatasoo, appears, in full detail, sculptured with great boldness and breadth, an expedition undertaken by this strong daughter of Thothmes against a country called Poont. Here the Egyptian general receives the disarmed chief of the enemy, presenting himself as a suppliant. Behind the conquered man walk his wife and daughter, both repulsive in form and face, their flesh sagging so that it would seem difficult for them to walk.⁸³ The traveller Schweinfurt tells us, that a similar corpulency is common to-day among the Bongo women. Besides these unfortunate barbarians, we see, in these reliefs of Queen Hatasoo, the Egyptian fleet being freighted with booty, such as giraffes, monkeys, leopards, weapons, ingots of copper, and rings of gold.

In another place the triumphant army re-enters Thebes, marching to the music of trumpeters who go before, while each soldier carries a palm and a pike. The god Ammon witnesses the procession of short-horned oxen, monkeys, etc., and addresses his congratulations to the victorious queen who is thus enriched.

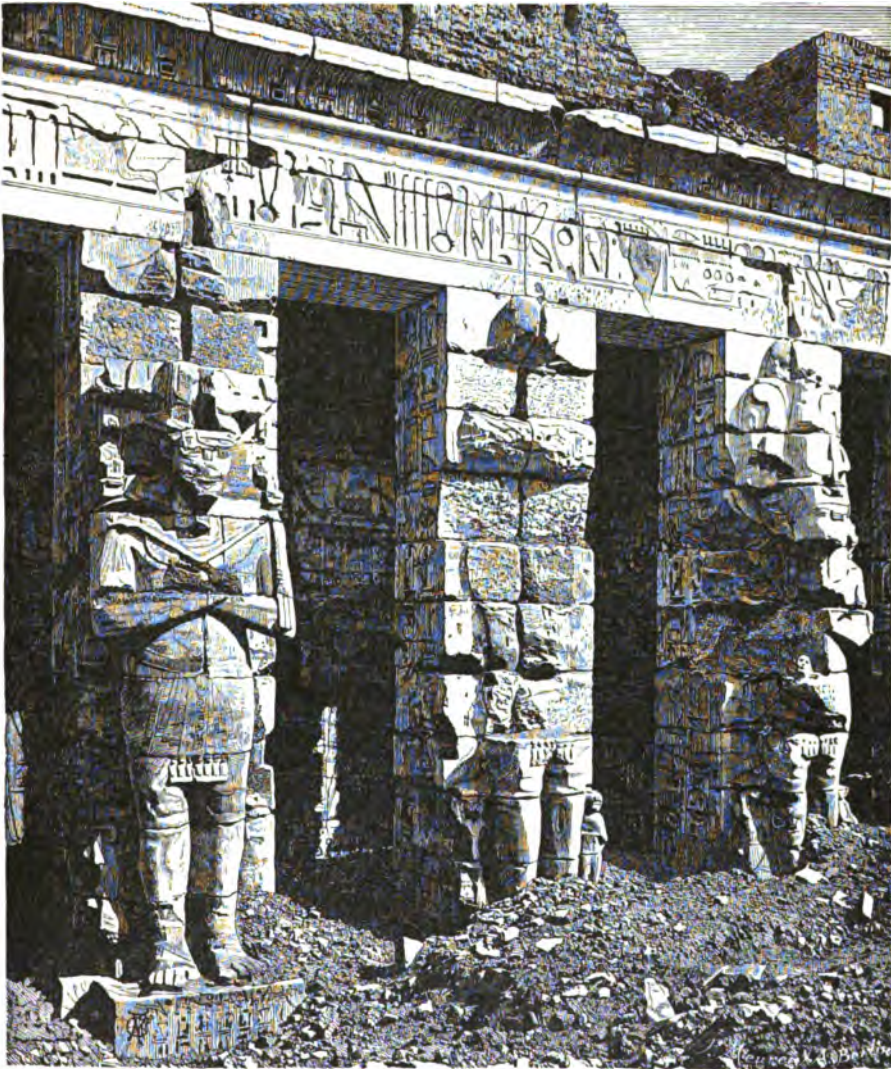


Fig. 23. Court in the Temple of Ramses III. Medinet-Abou.

The walls of the Ramesseion, the famous temple of the great Rameses, teem with the exploits of that Pharaoh, the Sesostris of the Greeks; and terrible is the *mêlée* of battle in which he joins, his horses plunging over and among the bodies of the slain.

Besides these historical scenes, there appear, on the walls of these funereal chapels, representations of the king in adoration before the god of Thebes,

Ammon Ra, often associated with Mut and Khons, the other deities of the Theban triad. Again, the royal personage quenches his thirst with the milk of the cow-shaped goddess, Hathor. Still again, the monarch is worshipped by his children. So Rameses I. appears in a niche, adored by his grandson. By all these scenes, doubtless, the living Pharaoh planned to secure to his *Ka* future entertainment and happiness, and at the same time to gratify the spirit of self-exaltation.

In addition to these reliefs, thus lavishly spread over wall, pillar, and pylon of the funereal temples, numbers of colossal statues found here their proper place. They appear, standing around some of the courts at regular intervals, like constituents of the architecture, wearing the mummy-robes and emblems of Osiris, or the garb of the living monarch, but always having the portrait-head of the Pharaoh, as in a colonnade of the court of the temple of Rameses III. at Medeenet-Aboû (Fig. 23).

Again, the colossal seated statues of the monarch occur in even numbers, on either side of the entrance, frequently accompanied by diminutive members of the royal family; the heir-apparent, "the law-giver between his feet," peering out from betwixt the gigantic knees. Such is the so-called statue of Memnon and its twin colossus, sixty feet in height, portraits of Amenophis III. (Fig. 24), before the gigantic pylons of that monarch's spacious tomb-temple, whose ruins are now scarcely traceable among the sands. Until 27 B.C. these portraits of the Pharaoh attracted no unusual attention. At that time, however, an earthquake precipitated the upper part of one of them; and it was observed, that from the remainder, when wet by the morning dew, and touched by the sun's first rays, a prolonged sound was heard. As Greeks and Romans were then frequent travellers in Egypt, this phenomenon attracted much attention, and gave the statues a world-wide fame. Being familiar with an Egyptian hero, Memnon, son of Eos (Aurora), this colossus soon became to the Greeks their mythic hero, greeting with audible tones his mother, as she came at break of day, heralding light to the darkened world. Whether these stately figures, seated in quiet before the pylons, like their companions the obelisks, were actually objects of worship, we do not know; but it is not at all improbable that they also had their stated rites and appointed priests.

Passing across the river to the right bank, we meet with another vast complex of sacred buildings at Thebes, the temples of Luxor and Karnak, which likewise have their lavish accompaniment of sculpture. These temples were not, like those just described, funereal in character, but were great national sanctuaries, sacred to deity, the expression of the piety of successive generations, from the time of the Twelfth Dynasty down to the Roman age. Different princes have here added their contributions to the original structure: one has built a pylon with its seated colossi, another a court with its surrounding columns, another has planted a solemn row of sphinxes before the entrance,

or raised a finely chiselled obelisk. Thus the Pharaonic temples on the right bank may well be called the "growth of ages."

The reliefs covering their interior represent, not the boastful historical scenes of the funereal temples of the Pharaohs on the left bank of the river, war-scenes also appearing rarely on their exterior. We see, instead, the great gods of Thebes in solemn assemblages, to whom kings offer their humble adoration.

Besides, within the building, a king often offers to such and such a god his statue, as a perpetual witness of his piety, thus securing divine favor. These



P. Meyer A. A. Berlin.

Fig. 24. The "Memnon Colossi." Thebes.

royal figures were sometimes erected by decree of a college of priests, or by a private individual who had vowed thus to render to his sovereign due honor. In these statues the king becomes a god. He was himself present in the stone, fashioned in his image; and to him were rendered divine honors in an established service of offering and prayer, recited at the feet of the statue.⁸⁴ It is difficult to comprehend the ancient Egyptian's thought; but, in a temple of Abydos, Rameses is to be seen invoking himself in his own statue. At Karnak were found a number of remarkable colossi, representing Thothmes III., the head of one of which is now in the British Museum (Fig. 25). Before one pylon alone, six such statues had their abiding-place. Could we but imagine the whole building raised once again, and these statues, silently

seated in front of the massive pylon, projected against the deep blue, in the blazing light of day, or even see these colossi lying under their native sky in grand ruin, how different the impression they would have from that we receive while standing before the stately head of Thothmes III. imprisoned in the dark galleries of the British Museum !

Leading up to the entrances of these temples of Karnak and Luxor were



Fig. 26. Thothmes III. British Museum.

imposing avenues, through which the worshippers passed in approaching the sacred precincts. Facing the road on each side crouched sphinxes, mysterious combinations of lion and man, ram and lion, or colossal rams, varying with the size of the pylon to which they led. The width of these stately avenues at Karnak is about twenty-three meters, and the sphinxes occur at intervals of four meters. Could we have passed with the ancient Egyptians up the avenue, two kilometers long, leading from Luxor to Karnak, we should then have counted about a thousand such sphinxes, crouching in the attitude of perfect repose. If the sphinx is a pure lion, like those from Gebel Barkal in the British Museum, the king of beasts quietly crosses his paws, the dormant power of his form in contrast to the vigilant face (Fig. 26). At Karnak, between the front paws of the imposing ram-headed sphinxes, and under their placid heads, stands the small figure of a king, whom the divine animal, as symbol of Ammon Ra, thus seems to protect. As yet Egyptologists are unable to discover whether these sphinxes had, like the

obelisks, a specifically religious character, or were simply decorative symbols. In either case, we can imagine how imposing these quiet, ever-recurring forms must have been from a glimpse at even the single members, now in ruins, or torn from their original place (Fig. 27). An admirable specimen of these ram-headed sphinxes, to be seen in the British Museum, is from the avenue which led to the pylon built by King Horus.

In reliefs, this mysterious sphinx-form receives many variations. Decorat-

ing the throne of Amenophis III., it bears the monarch's head, and stands holding in its powerful clutch the helpless form of an Asiatic foe (Fig. 29). Sometimes it is seated on its haunches, as afterwards in Greek art. Again, it appears as the prototype of the Greek griffin, with a hawk's head, but having the beak closed, as in the monuments of Amenophis III. at Karnak. Seldom does the sphinx receive female form; although the warlike queen Hatasoo appears once in this shape on a small coffer of the Abbott collection, where she is furnished with powerful wings, contrary to the usual Egyptian mode of representing this mythic animal.

But not at Thebes alone, during this time, were tasks of great magnitude performed by the sculptor. Among the mountains of Nubia, in the south,



Fig. 26. Lion from Gebel Barkal. British Museum.

Rameses the Great caused temple courts and passages to be excavated. This prince himself adorns the façade of the great rock-temple at Aboo-Simbel (Fig. 28) in figures hewn from the mountain side, 20.13 meters (66 feet) high, and having forefingers 91 centimeters (3 feet) in length. These statues are all alike; two of them sit on each side of the entrance: and a cornice of dog-headed apes, each 1.82 meter (6 feet) high, surmounts the temple front. The sand is rapidly shrouding the grand and thoroughly Egyptian features of the monarch, who looks calmly down on the great river flowing at his feet. The mild dignity of these faces, expressed in such immense proportions, makes them unequalled for beauty among Egyptian colossi. The structure of the body, however, is rigid and conventional, typical of that vast number of statues which form the stern concomitant of much of the architecture in the Nile valley. Their royal character is marked, not only by the head-dress, but by that colossal size never given to statues of the gods. A relief of the hawk-headed divinity Ra, in

small form, appears in the niche above the temple-door, as being worshipped by Rameses at the god's right hand.

In the Egyptian temple, there was no central cult statue of the god, as in the temples of the Greeks.⁸⁵ Usually the holiest place was occupied by a mere symbol, sometimes a living animal; while the statues of the god appear to have been banished to less important parts of the building. The statues of the gods, votive offerings, deposited in the sacred edifice, were, however, numerous, and set up at the expense of the king or of private persons, with dedicatory inscriptions. Sometimes they represented the deity to whom the temple was sacred, and frequently gods who were strangers to the local cult. Those whose piety erected these votive figures did not fail to provide for a perpetual service of offering to be deposited on fixed occasions at the feet of the statues, and for

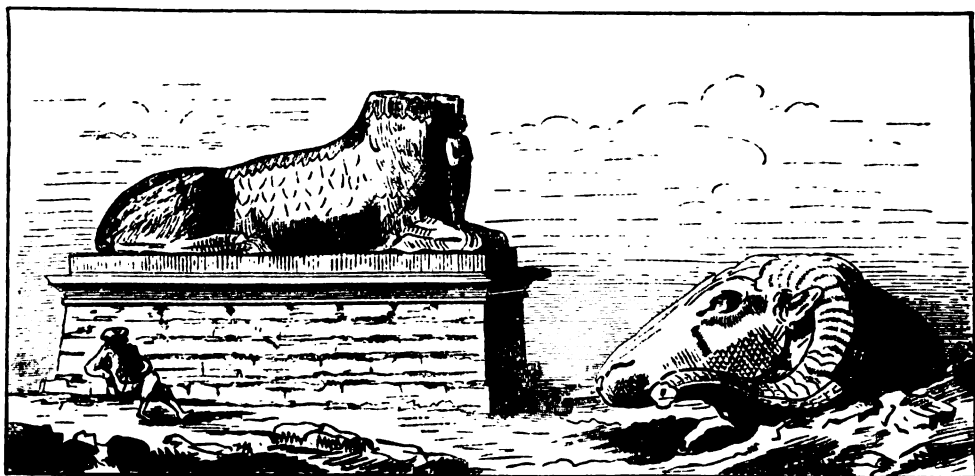


Fig. 27. Part of an Avenue of Ram-headed Sphinxes. Karnak.

ceremonies and prayers in which the name of the dedicator was to be always mentioned. The statue was clothed and unclothed by the priest, who also held conversations with it. A singular dialogue is recorded upon the stele of Bakh-tan, between the god Khons and his prophet, in which the god responds. Other inscriptions show, that the statue was considered the veritable dwelling of the god, a sort of tabernacle, taken possession of at the moment of invocation. Many of the images of the gods were of precious metal, and have fallen a prey to the avarice of man. These representations of deity in the New Theban Empire absorb far more of the Egyptians' energy than they did in the olden time, their innumerable hybrid forms crowding into the background the more natural subjects and naive realism of the most ancient dynasties. Indeed, among the ruins of the time of the Thothmes and the Rameses, figures of gods, from life-size to tiny statuettes, are found everywhere. The courts and passages of the small temple at Karnak, which had a longitudinal section of not

more than a hundred meters, were decorated with five hundred and seventy-two statues, in black granite, of the lion-headed goddess, standing sometimes in one and sometimes in two rows against the walls, and so close together as to elbow one another.⁸⁶ In private houses, the gods, family divinities as it were, occupied, at the extreme end of a chamber, a niche cut to imitate the holiest place or sanctuary in the temple. At this family altar, and before the statues in the niche, stood a table, constantly supplied with offerings of food and flowers. Such family divinities may be traced up to the Eighteenth



Fig. 28. Façade of Great Rock-Temple at Abqo-Simbil. Nubia.

Dynasty, and probably farther.⁸⁷ Besides, many statuettes were placed in private dwellings, such as those in the Boolak Museum, discovered by Mariette, potent talismans against harm, and doubtless, like the branch of aloes over the modern Egyptians' door, believed to ward off the evil eye.

Many similar figurines of deity were also found in the sand. To the pious Egyptian, this destructive element was an emblem of Typhon, the great power of evil. It signified to him death and sterility. Not only the beasts which haunted the desert, the sand also which covered it, and even its barren, sear color, were an abomination.⁸⁸ So intense was this feeling, that all animals, and, it is said, even children, born with hair of its hue, were sacrificed to the dread

demon Typhon. Before using any desert spot for sacred purposes, such as the erection of temple or tomb, care was taken to scatter broadcast purifying figures of the gods, sometimes in gold, oftener in porcelain and stone, but especially in bronze. Of these figures, Mariette discovered very many with the sand still clinging to them.



Fig. 29. Throne of Amenophis III.

But while the Egyptian sculptor of the New Theban age revels in colossal forms, costly materials, and strange combinations of human and animal shapes, to represent his highest ideals, he is still true to the former tendency to make the head a portrait of the Pharaoh or private person represented. Although the lifelike, every-day portraits of the Memphitic period are not seen, and the Pharaoh's features are generalized to suit the larger forms; yet our wonder is aroused at the resemblance to life preserved, even in such colossal shapes. The heads of Thothmes III. (Fig. 25) and Amenophis III., in the British Museum, and that of Rameses at Abou-Simbel (Fig. 28), bear witness to this individuality. How unique the homely features of Amenophis IV., or Khoo-en-aten, the heretic king (Fig. 30), with his retreating forehead, large, aquiline nose, long, ill-shapen chin, startling, almond-shaped eyes, and flabby cheeks! In his form also, as in reliefs, and in a statuette of the Louvre, we seem to see a representation of life. Even such repulsive features as the flat chest and large stomach testify to the desire to imitate nature.

But that the sculptors of this age, while rendering characteristic features, did not neglect the beautiful, is well illustrated by a beautiful statue of Rameses II., now in Turin (Plate I.). Here, in very hard stone, the sculptor has succeeded in giving the softness and delicacy of life. The undulations of form are admirably expressed through the rigidly regular drapery; and the head, full of true ideal beauty, gives a most elevated conception of the sculptor's powers. We wonder at this display of ability in combination with the immovable pose, the unpleasant support at the back, the tiny figures, with outstretched hands, decorating the great king's seat on either



Fig. 30. Portrait of Khoo-en-aten, the Heretic King. Thebes.

side, as well as the peculiar treatment of the garments, very full in their fall, and, doubtless, in nature of very thin, transparent stuff. No detail has the painstaking sculptor here omitted; and how thorough and happy his approach to an agreeable *tout ensemble* appears throughout, even to the elaborate finish of the head-dress. In this beautiful statue conventionalism seems so coupled with abstract grace, that the great possibilities of Egyptian art dawn upon us with rare force. When this figure, however, is compared with the realistic, lifelike figures of the Ancient Empire, as, for instance, the strong, rocky Chephren (Fig. 11), we realize the great difference between the work and spirit of the various ages of Egyptian sculpture, and better appreciate the attainments of each.

Moreover, the Egyptian sculptor now seizes race peculiarities, and renders them with great skill. This is admirably illustrated in the bands of chained



Fig. 31. Chained Prisoners being Driven. Aboo-Simbel.



Fig. 32. Dancing-Girl. Thebes.

negroes (Fig. 31) from the temple at Aboo-Simbel. The excited passion and restless writhing of the prisoners, galled by their bonds, is rendered with a masterly hand. In one relief, where Rameses II., protected by the bird-headed deity, decapitates, at a blow, ten of his pygmy foes, whom he holds by their scalp-locks, the characteristics of race are most pronounced. This distinction of foreign races throughout the New Theban Empire is at strange variance with the stiff conventionalism in the forms of the Egyptians and the gods. The Egyptians themselves are now represented as more slender than in the Ancient Theban Empire, and a tendency to elegance is manifest in the more elaborate although unartistic head-dresses and garments. Smaller reliefs in the tombs will be found to be not wanting in attractiveness. That the Egyptian sculptor could render female grace appears from a part of a tomb-relief of the Eighteenth Dynasty, of which a drawing was made before its destruction by tourists. Here, as may be seen in a figure from one of those dancing-scenes,

beauty of design, graceful attitudes, combined with the elegance of the musical instruments, attract the eye (Fig. 32). This figure shows us the artist in a new light, free to follow his own instincts, as he was unable to do in the official scenes he so often had to represent. The dancing-girl, with her head dropped, seems to follow with her eye the movement of her feet; and we may see the graceful swing of her body. The rich girdle she wears is an ornament such as is still worn by young girls in Upper Egypt and Nubia.

But, even in official scenes, there are often single parts which are exceedingly pleasing. In the original of a relief of Seti I. (Fig. 33), adorning the

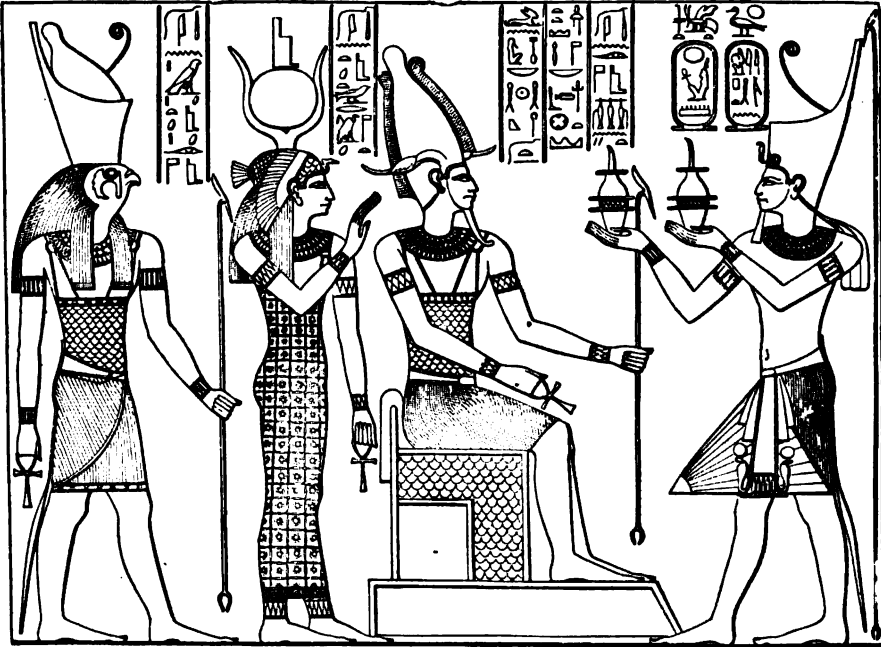


Fig. 33. Seti I. worshipping Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Abydos.

temple he built at Abydos, but of which the cut is a poor representation, the exquisite softness and sweetness of the face, combined with royal dignity, take us altogether captive; and we wonder how an artist capable of creating such a face could have been satisfied to represent Seti's form and hands, both of which are right hands, in so schematic and lifeless a manner.⁸⁹

(In the representation of battle-scenes, there is a liveliness of detail and movement not met with in the idyllic earlier art. But the form of the horse is crude, lacking the truthfulness to nature seen in the cows, deer, and geese of that earlier day. The horse was probably introduced into Egypt as late as the time of the Hyksos, and hence received the conventional type so peculiar to later Egyptian art; whereas the other animals continued to be represented with the old naturalness. We feel this in looking at a pretentious and gayly-

colored relief, where Rameses II., and his three sons in smaller size, are represented in their chariots as storming forward to the attack of a fortress (Fig. 34). Each chariot is drawn by richly caparisoned horses, but having shapes more like wooden toys than war-horses. Even the fleeing herd below, terrified by the approach of the mighty conqueror, has more life than these leaping steeds.)

The fallen in these battle-scenes are often scattered all over the field of the relief, sometimes under the feet of the Pharaoh's colossal steeds; so that at first sight the confusion of battle appears terrible, as on a relief of Seti I. at Karnak (Fig. 35). The endless repetition, however, of a few given poses, shows how bald and spiritless this chronicle of past events, more like a vast group of pictorial hieroglyphics than a poem glowing with passion and fire of war.

The shortcomings in the reliefs of this time may have in part resulted from the greater size of the buildings. The ambitious pride of Rameses caused vast and numerous structures to stud the banks of the Nile from the north to the remotest south; and, in covering this expanse of walls and columns, it must have been impossible for the sculptor to maintain any so-



Fig. 34. Rameses II. and Three Sons Storming a Fortress.

briety in his compositions. Not limiting his sculptural decoration to certain parts, but striving to cover every part with relief, it is questionable whether, in the nature of the case, he could have preserved agreeableness of composition and harmony with the colossal architectural lines of the temple or pylon.

So, also, the carelessness of execution in many reliefs of this time may find adequate explanation in the fact, that more was demanded of the artists than they could do well. The coarse workmanship and displeasing superficiality of Rameses' sculptures in Abydos, as compared with those of his father, Seti I., in an adjoining part of the same temple, would thus find explanation in this rush of work in the time of Rameses.

In like manner the increased conventionalism throughout this New Theban



Fig. 35. Seti I. in Battle. Karnak.

Empire may also have resulted from this great demand for work. The wholesale production of sculptures and reliefs must have forced the artist to repeat now, more than ever, certain types by rote, for the sake of rapid execution, and thus to become very mechanical.

It may have been from the same desire for rapidity of execution, as well as for durability, that the sculptor now often carved his pictures, not in bas-relief proper, but by hollowing out the contours after the manner of *intaglio rilievo* or *en creux*.

Even the master-minds who directed all this activity probably aimed to produce little more than fine architectural ornaments, and, as inscriptions show, were more proud of the size of their works, and the mechanical difficulties they had overcome in carving very hard stones, than of the more purely artistic excellence of their productions.

The names of multitudes of architects have been preserved to us, in one case the profession passing from father to son for twenty-two generations.⁹⁰

Of sculptors, on the other hand, the names are very few; although the Egyptian word for sculptor, *se-ankh*, or "he who makes to live," is frequently annexed to figures represented as engaged in work.

Among the few known sculptors is one Mertesén, or Iritesén, of the Eleventh Dynasty, with whom we become acquainted through his own words carved on his tombstone, found at Beni-Hassan.⁹¹ On this monument Iritesén appears on the lower row of a relief, occupying the same seat with his wife Hapoo, who has one arm put lovingly around the neck of her lord, and raises to his nose an *alabastron* full of perfumed oil. Before them is the usual table, piled up with every description of food; and above is to be read, "Funeral meal of bread and liquor, thousands of loaves, oxen, geese, all good and pure things, to the pious Iritesén; his pious wife, who loves him, Hapoo." In the middle stripe of the tombstone, this worthy pair are seen making front to a proces-



Fig. 36. Aoota, Master-Sculptor, in his Workshop. Thebes.

sion headed by "his son, his eldest, who loves him, Oosertesén," followed by the remaining children. In the inscription, Iritesén calls himself the "chief of artists," and is not slow to make us acquainted with his skill. He says, "I, indeed, am an artist, wise in his art,—a man standing above all men by his learning," and, after enumerating his gifts, adds, "So there is no man excels by it but I alone, and my eldest legitimate son. God has decreed him to be excellent in it; and I have seen the perfection of his hands in his work of chief artist in every kind of precious stone, from gold and silver, even to ivory and ebony." The self-laudation here is similar to that of the sculptor of the Memnon colossi, one Amen-hotep, son of Hapoo.⁹²

One other sculptor, Aoota by name, seems to have enjoyed the admiration of his fellows as well as of himself, as a relief on the ruined wall of the temple of the heretic king Khoo-en-aten at Tell-el-marna informs us (Fig. 36). Here we see Aoota seated on a low stool, with a small statuette before him, which

he is touching up with color. In his other hand he holds his palette, one end of which he rests upon his knee. The inscription tells us that this is Aoota, master-sculptor of the great queen, and that the figure he is finishing is of the favorite granddaughter of that queen, the princess Bekh-a-ten, daughter of the king Khoo-en-aten.⁹³ Opposite stands a fellow-workman, bent over in attitude of rapt admiration. The same relief shows two others, busy, one



Fig. 37. Sculptor's Models. Boolak. Cairo.

with a head, and the other with a leg or arm; the hieroglyphic inscription *se-ankh*, engraved alongside of each, telling us that they are sculptors.

The head, on which one of these sculptors works, calls to mind the fact, that on nearly every site excavated, heads, as well as closed hands, animals, etc., are found, which doubtless served as models to sculptors. In the Salle de l'Est, at Boolak, are fifteen such heads (Fig. 37), together with sculptured slabs (Figs. 38, 39). These objects were discovered in the sand of the necropolis of Sakkarah, where, however, nothing indicated the site of a tomb. They are in

limestone, each twenty-five centimeters in height, and appear to be graded models for art-students, blocked out in the rough. The successive numbers show continual improvement, until, in No. 60, we see a thoroughly finished work. One of these models is cut through the middle, as though to bring out the profile; and others are squared off, as though to establish the proportions more accurately.

It has been conjectured, that these curious relics may be trial-heads, in which the sculptor sought to get the portrait of the ruler he was to represent; or that they may be officially prescribed portraits of the Pharaoh, sent out from the capital at each new accession to the throne, to serve as the type to be copied in all monuments in honor of the new monarch. A curious part was

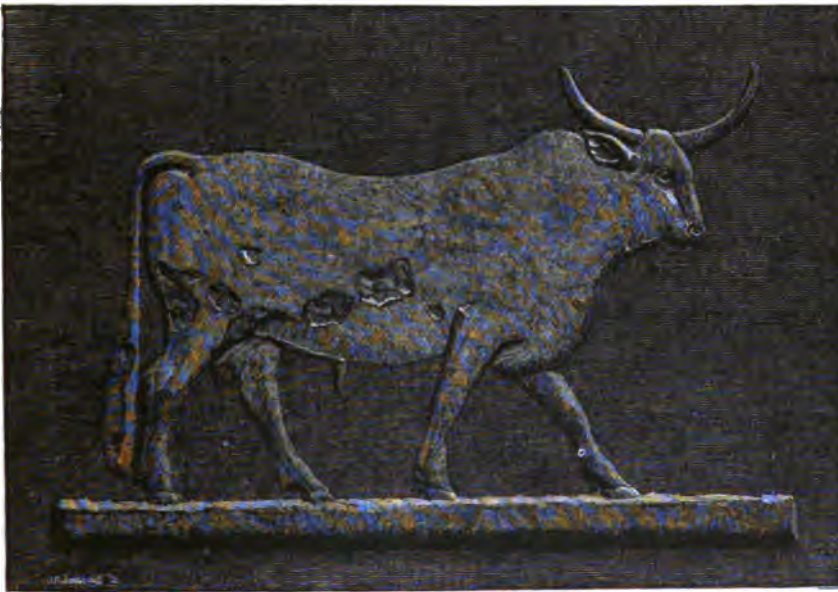


Fig. 33. Bull for Sculptor's Model. Boolak. Cairo.

played by the portrait of the all-powerful Pharaoh during the reigns of Seti I. and Rameses II., when it was quite customary, in making statues, to give them the royal physiognomy, although intended for other people. Even humble vases were adorned with the head of the monarch.

In regarding the colossi and other elaborately finished sculptures of this brilliant epoch, we naturally imagine that the Egyptians must then have been possessed of all the refinements of a thoroughly developed technique. M. Soldi has, however, shown that this was not the case; nearly all the monuments bearing marks of the primitive character of the tools with which they were executed, as seen especially in the cavities of the hieroglyphics.⁹⁴ The high polish finally given killed out all irregularities, leaving the work like a grandly

planned sketch. Even in the mechanical contrivances for moving colossal statues, the Egyptians of this Theban Empire seem to have used very simple means, as is illustrated from a relief in a tomb at Beni-Hassan, and dating from the Twelfth Dynasty.⁹⁵ Here the colossal figure rests on a sledge drawn by multitudes of human hands: a man stands in the lap of the statue, and beats time, that the workmen may draw in unison. One pours water on the runners; and numbers of overseers with short whips are scattered along, to urge the workmen in their task. Such scenes, taken from life when Egypt was at the height of its civilization, show that thousands of human hands took the place of pulleys, capstans, and other mechanical appliances.

By comparing monuments from different places, it may be noticed, that while the same general character marked the sculptures of the whole land during this New Theban period, still the art of different cities had some slight local coloring. The sculptures, executed during the reign of Rameses II., at Abydos, are evidently the work of men superior to their contemporaries at Thebes. Those who work at Thebes are, again, different from those whose skill shows itself at Memphis, or in the cities of the Delta.



Fig. 39. Ram for Sculptor's Model.
Boolah. Cairo.

As marked peculiarities in the statues of this period may be noticed the support at the back, as well as the "reserved" arms and legs in seated, standing, or kneeling figures. These strange adjuncts increase the already rigid impression of all the figures at this time, both large and small, which are not in wood or bronze. The greater freedom in

statues of these latter materials may be seen in the large wooden statues of Seti in the British Museum, where these ungainly adjuncts are omitted, and also in the bronze negro of the New-York Historical Rooms.

A general survey of all Egyptian sculptural monuments, thus far discussed, leads to their division into two general classes: first, those of a freer sort, mostly belonging to earlier periods, almost always in wood, bronze, or soft stone, and having small proportions; second, those chiefly of the later period, larger and more conventional, in which sculpture becomes architectural in its spirit. To this latter class belong the so-called Osirid pillars lining the temple-courts, the seated royal colossi before the entrances, the sacred apes hocking on the cornices of the pylons or around the bases of the obelisks, the sphinxes bordering the avenues, and the lion-headed goddesses symmetrically arranged in temple-areas. But it is to be noticed, that these sacred objects never support any thing. They simply supplement architectural lines. In scarcely more than two cases does the human form bear the roof. Such duty is only performed by prisoners, bent and distorted under their burden, as in the portico of the so-

called Pavilion of Rameses, at Thebes. In representations of Pharaoh's throne (Fig. 29), we sometimes see a negro and an Asiatic, bound back to back, and standing as though supporting the seat with their heads; and, in actual furniture and utensils, the figure of prisoner or slave was frequently made thus to do servile duty.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SAÏTIC AND LOWER EMPIRES.

Historical Introduction.—Changes caused by the Nature of the Delta.—Structures of Brick.—Art at Saïs.—Greater Costliness of Material.—Elaborateness of Finish.—Absence of Colossal Forms.—Ameneritis.—Statues at Sakkarah.—Reliefs more Varied and Graceful.—Cause of Conservatism in Egyptian Art.—Proportions of Statuary.—Decline of Egyptian Sculpture from Time of Alexander.

For centuries Thebes had enjoyed a pre-eminent position, but by the Twenty-first Dynasty she yielded her proud rank to the growing cities of the Delta. Among these the most important was Saïs, which gives its name to the remaining period of national Egyptian rule, reaching down to the conquest of the Nile valley by Alexander the Great, 332 B.C.

The opening of this Saïtic period was marked by serious reverses to Egyptian arms. The vast possessions abroad, results of the brilliant conquests of the Thothmes and Rameses, were gone; and Egypt found herself surrounded by enemies. Among the principal features of the earlier part of this period were the prevalence of Semitic influence, the dominating position of the hierarchy, the contention of the Assyrians and Ethiopians for possession of the land, resulting in the supremacy of the latter.

But about the middle of the seventh century, 660 B.C., a change appeared, associated with the name of Psammetichos I. of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, resulting in a renaissance in state and in art. This vigor in Egyptian affairs seems to have found its parallel in other parts of the ancient world. In distant Mesopotamia, Assyrian kings were building vast palaces, and decorating them with the most perfect of known Assyrian sculptures, little conscious of the Persian power in the north which should soon lay waste their land, and conquer Egypt also. Psammetichos, who appears to have had Libyan blood in his veins, encouraged intercourse with the Greeks, and other distant lands. His policy was followed out by his successors; and, one hundred years later, Amasis encouraged the settlement of Greeks at his capital, Saïs. But Amasis was scarcely in his grave when the Persian Cambyses appeared on the borders, and reduced Egypt (about 527 B.C.) to a province of his kingdom. During the following, the fifth and fourth centuries, when in Greece a Pheidias and Praxiteles were in their prime, the Persians repeated their invasions, meeting with

spasmodic resistance. The last and most effective blow to Egyptian life was received with the conquest under Alexander. From that time independence and national vigor seem to have slowly vanished; and Egypt became a submissive servant, first of the Ptolemies, and finally of the Romans.

During the Sartic period, as during that of Thebes which preceded it, temple and tomb seem to have been the sculptor's principal field of activity. Both king and subject still desired the preservation of the mummy and its tomb, as well as the perpetuation of the funeral services in the chapel; but the nature of the land of the Delta required other modes of procedure than those practised on other sites. On the alluvial plains of Lower Egypt, subject to the annual overflow, security against moisture could only be attained by the erection of vast structures, whose foundations would resist the flowing waters. That this was the course pursued, is evident from a few ruins and the testimony of ancient writers.

The kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, as we are told by Herodotos, found their last resting-place in the midst of the temple at Sats, sacred to Neith, described by the Greek historian as of great magnitude. No ruins of these royal tombs are preserved, to throw light on their structure and decoration.

Private Egyptians of this time seem to have deposited their dead in extensive structures of brick built for this purpose, the adjoining chambers serving as chapels. Two such mountains of brick were discovered by Champollion, still containing the funereal figurines and vases.⁹⁶ But these masses with their cells between, washed every year by the Nile, have absorbed, like a sponge, the moisture of the river, and become, for the most part, hopeless ruins.

But, while Sats itself has rendered very little, the monuments of this age at Thebes and Memphis still exist. These consist mostly of tombs, which are found to contain statues and figurines, as well as reliefs, showing great fondness for elegance and costliness of material, and a more elaborate taste than that of the times gone before. Wood, formerly so much used, and so easily worked, is rarely found; but bronze, Oriental alabaster, green and black basalt, porphyry, and serpentine, are very frequently employed. Far greater costliness of material is likewise noticeable in the *shabti*, as well as the statuettes strewn in the sand for purification, and in the large figures. In bronze an elaborate finish adds to the elegance and *finesse* of the figures, well illustrated by those belonging to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and found by Mariette at Medeenet-Aboo. On raising a stone, there were brought to light nearly a thousand bronzes, all representing Osiris. In these the diversity of color in the details is obtained by layers of *lapis lazuli* and brilliant red paste introduced into the bronze, as well as by threads of gold filling up furrows cut into the metal.

But, besides this tendency to employ more costly material, there is also a

change in the treatment of forms. Colossal statues now give place to works more unpretending in size, but finished with the painstaking care of a cameo or miniature painting. The broad, massive treatment and sketchy surface of older statues are now exchanged for roundness in detail, and astonishing neatness of manipulation. Although the inherited general forms are retained, there is a decided attempt to make them more agreeable by mellowing their sharp lines, and bestowing upon them delicacy of execution. But the works of art thus produced lack the vigor of the older period. Portraits now lose their realistic character beneath a veil, as it were, of elegance, frequently robbing them of any particular interest.

Among the most perfect of the works of this time is the statue, now in Boolak, of Queen Ameneritis, a lady who played a most important part in the history of her day. She was the wife of one of the Ethiopian kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and grandmother to Psammetichos I. The figure of this queen, 1.67 meter high, is in costly Oriental alabaster, and appears to have been surmounted by two golden plumes, unfortunately now gone. She is clad in a tightly fitting robe, her arms are clasped by admirably executed bracelets, and her head is covered by the elaborate head-dress of the goddesses. One inscription teaches us that this choice figure of the queen was executed while she lived; and another, on the pilaster at the back, is the dedicatory invocation to the gods.

Of the powerful and enlightened kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, so few portraits remain, that it would seem as though they had either been destroyed or carried off in the repeated invasions of the Persians; but of the gods and private persons, numerous representations exist. Although the light point where centres the art-interest of this long-checked period is the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and the house of Psammetichos, yet its peculiar excellences continued unabated down to about the time of the Greek occupation. In a tomb at Sakkarah, belonging to the Thirtieth—the last—Egyptian Dynasty, three figures in serpentine, now in Boolak, were discovered by Mariette, which admirably illustrate all the peculiarities of this last renaissance of Egyptian art.⁹⁷ These small figures are scarcely 91 centimetres (3 feet) in height, and represent Osiris; Isis, who shared in the protection of the dead; and a high functionary of state, Psammetichos, standing under the protection of the goddess Hathor, who has the form of a cow. A more careful modelling in such obdurate material, equalled only by its elaborate finish, it would be difficult to find than is evident in these statues, having thereby more the charm of the cameo than of bold statuesque rendering.

In relief of the Sartic period, as in statuary, a few formal changes are evident. The representations of the ritual, the ordeals of the departed, and the army of judicial gods, still invade the tomb; and a few scenes like those of the Ancient Empire, quiet and rural, may be seen. But these are no longer so

unaffected in form: there is an attempted introduction of varied movement and more graceful proportions, which, however, is seldom truly satisfactory; as it stops half-way.

With the close of the Thirtieth Dynasty we stand at the termination of what was truly national and vigorous in Egyptian sculpture. Looking back, we marvel at its realism at the outset, as in the earliest statues of Memphis; at its boldness in rendering colossal forms, as seen in the works of Rameses; and, finally, at the delicate and painstaking finish of this Saitic period. It is difficult, in the world of ever-changing form and thought about us, to comprehend fully the Egyptians' feelings in holding so tenaciously through thousands of years to the same modes of expression in sculpture. Some have sought an explanation in a hieratic canon from which artists never swerved. From very early times the Egyptian does not appear to have worked at hap-hazard, but to have adopted a uniform scale of proportions, which rarely was altered, but within its limits underwent many *nuances* of change. At first the standing body, male or female, is divided into nineteen parts; the unit taken being the middle finger.⁹⁸ The ancient Egyptian seems to have observed, that, as the body grows, the bones of the hand are the only ones which grow in the same proportion from infancy to age, and have constantly the same relation to the whole frame. A seated figure occupied fifteen of the nineteen parts. In the reliefs of the Ancient Empire, the upper part of the body occupies more squares than it does in those of the Old Theban Empire. The forms are consequently thicker and heavier; while the tendency is, as time goes on, to make the legs longer, and the form more slender. With the Twenty-sixth Dynasty we find that the form is divided into twenty-three parts from heel to summit of head, or twenty-one and a quarter to top of forehead, seated figures occupying nineteen of the twenty-three squares. This is, doubtless, the canon mentioned by Diodoros.⁹⁹ In it the form is about equally divided at the hips, and the head is one-eighth of the whole, — a proportion which we find also employed by the Greeks in their figures of the heroic style. The great diversity of proportion, however, existing between monuments of the same age, makes it difficult to believe that for the master artist any rigid canon existed. Doubtless the squares which mark off the form were used more to guide the copyists, of whom thousands must have been employed. In the tomb of Seti I. the artist altogether disdains the use of squares. In other reliefs they are clearly simply used to facilitate the arrangement of the groups and hieroglyphics. On a funereal stele in the British Museum from the Ancient Empire, the seated figure of the upper row of reliefs occupies the same number of squares as the standing ones below. Evidently, then, the similarity between monuments of the same date may be due less to strict canon than to the prevailing taste of the time. Thus, as we have seen in the Ancient Empire, stocky forms preponderate; in the Theban they are more slender; and in the Twenty-sixth

Dynasty they change again, the usual proportions being those which Diodoros reports to have been common to all Egyptian art.

With the subjugation of Egypt by Alexander (332 B.C.), a change, indeed, came over Egyptian affairs. The conqueror, by introducing the policy of leaving the vanquished in the possession of their religion, arts, and customs, happily secured for Egypt, after its centuries of warfare, two hundred and seventy-five years of peace. After the death of Alexander's son, Egypt fell to the Ptolemies, who form the Thirty-third Dynasty; and her political history from now on was merged in the struggles of Greek princes. As true Greeks, the Ptolemies, though often politically unfortunate, showed great zeal in literature and art. Under their patronage, Manetho, the Egyptian, wrote in Greek the annals of his country; the sacred books of the Hebrews were translated in the Septuagint version, and the great library of four hundred thousand volumes at Alexandria was collected. It was a Ptolemy who, according to a wild report, brought back the twenty-five thousand Egyptian statues carried off by Cambyses; and no dynasty after the Nineteenth erected more and grander structures on the banks of the Nile than did these Greek rulers. But, although the temples they erected are numerous and imposing, the sculptures that adorn them are without character, and show great falling-off from true Egyptian style. The architectural simplicity and strength of former times are gone. The introduction of the free spirit of the Greeks could not rejuvenate, rather does it seem to have hastened the decay of, the traditional art of Egypt.

With the Roman conquest, Egypt lost all political significance, and became little more than the granary of Rome. The emperor Hadrian, with his passion for every thing that was old, did much for the encouragement of art in Egypt, and sought to galvanize a new life into these antiquated forms. In honor of his favorite Antinous, he caused a city to be built, and many costly monuments to be erected. Before his tomb were sphinxes and obelisks; but this Roman-Egyptian art is characterless,—a mere affectation. The severe but beautiful forms of the sculpture of the olden times, although retaining their rigidity, became with every day more gross and careless. After the dismemberment of the Roman dominion into the two rules of the East and the West, Egypt fell to the Oriental ruler. It was not, however, until Theodosius promulgated his famous edict, that Christianity became the religion of the state,—381 B.C. The emperor ordered the closing of all the temples, and the destruction of the figures of the gods, which many Egyptians of his day still adored. Thus was consummated the destruction of pagan Egypt, with its Pantheon of innumerable gods. Thousands of statues, we are told, perished: the temples were profaned and destroyed, leaving ruins which in the course of centuries have been shrouded by the sands of the desert, but are now slowly throwing off their covering mantle, and revealing their treasured secrets to the eager student of antiquity.

SCULPTURE IN WESTERN ASIA.

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CHAPTER V.

CHALDÆA.

Mesopotamia in General. — Chaldæa. — Historical Sketch. — Clay Tablets. — Ancient Myths. — Oannes. — Izdhubar. — Titanic Races. — Cylinders illustrating Myths. — Babylonian Religion. — Goddess Istar. — Her Statues and Statuettes. — Diminutive Remains. — Discoveries at Tello. — Mounds. — Gudea. — Head found at Tello. — Hardness of Material of Remains. — Traces of Egyptian Influence. — Independent Traits of Sculptures. — Subjects of Primitive Reliefs. — Character of Works. — More Vigorous Works. — Statue of an Architect. — Excellences of these Sculptures. — Later More Elaborate Works. — Resemblance to Greek Archaic Sculptures. — Cubes of Masonry and Contents. — Bronzes. — Influence of Chaldæan Art.

As the Nile is the bearer of blessings to Egypt, so through the heart of Mesopotamia flow two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, watering plains which were the seats of some of the hoariest civilizations of antiquity.

Of these our knowledge was long confined to the reports of a few Greek travellers, and to fragments from a history written in Greek by Berossos, a Chaldæan priest. But the past forty years have opened up undreamed-of monuments, over which even Xenophon's Ten Thousand seem to have passed, unconscious of the treasures buried in the soil, and of which Herodotos' descriptions give no notice. The explorations of Botta, Layard, Rawlinson, Place, Rassam, Loftus, and last, but not least, of de Sarzec, have opened to our astonished view ruined cities, palaces, and temples, witnesses to a powerful and long-lived civilization; while countless mounds, still unexplored, await patient labor with the pick and spade, that we may fill out our picture of buried empires.¹⁰⁰

Northern and Southern Mesopotamia are strikingly different in geological conformation. To the south, in ancient Chaldæa, or Babylonia, the surface is flat and uninteresting; but to the north of Hit on the Euphrates, and of Sumarah on the Tigris, the plain is rolling, and slightly elevated in rocky ridges.¹⁰¹ It is to the vast alluvial plain of Chaldæa in the south, that we must look for the oldest monuments. On all sides the level expanse is broken by solitary mounds, the remains of ancient cities or temples: elsewhere we see elevated embankments, marking the course of ancient or recent canals; and, towards the south, a few sand-hills. These forsaken plains now support a scanty population of wandering Bedouins, but once were proverbial for their fruitfulness, and teemed with inhabitants. Deep mystery shrouds the remote

beginnings of Chaldæan history. Enough, however, has been deciphered from the monuments to lead with certainty to the conclusion, that the races then occupying Babylonia were non-Semitic.¹⁰² To them has been given the name Accadian and Summerian; but their origin is hypothetical in the extreme, the term Turanian being often a convenient cloak for vague conjecture. Long before 1700 B.C., Semitic tribes obtained possession of the land; and this Accadian tongue became extinct. The civilization which then arose sank before the Assyrians in 1700 B.C., and is scarcely heard of until 625 B.C., when Nabopolassar revived its glory. The conquering Persians, however, soon absorbed this later Babylonian empire into their own realm, which, in turn, fell before the world-conquering Alexander, to become the kingdom of the Seleukidæ, and, later, a part of Roman rule.

Before considering the monuments of ancient Babylonia, this battle-ground of empires, let us turn back to the gray dawn of antiquity, long before Assur had gone forth to establish the new empire of Assyria, and before Abraham had left his home in Ur of the Chaldees. In that earliest time, we find that the Accadians had written scientific and poetical works, woven a web of fantastic myth, and fashioned forms of gods and men which should serve as models to some of the later people of Western Asia. From clay tablets, preserved in the British Museum, these myths are being read, supplementing the meagre words of Berossos. Their artistic expression has at last been traced in rare cylinders, as well as statues and reliefs, recently discovered in Southern Chaldæa, covered with inscriptions in the same tongue, and now in part in the Louvre. A hasty preliminary glance at a few of these myths will throw light on many of the forms of art met with in the existing monuments of Chaldæa and its Assyrian heir, revealing, as well, the fountain-head from which Phœnicia, and, in a few cases, even Greece, indirectly drew.

One story is, that, during the remote ages before the Flood, a semi-human, semi-fish being, but full of wisdom, called Oannes, came up out of the neighboring sea, the modern Persian Gulf, and taught primitive man the arts of civilization. According to Berossos, he appeared wearing over his head a fish; and such a being appears on Assyrian monuments. Closely akin to this god seems that fish-tailed creature seen on very ancient Babylonian cylinders, evidently the prototype of the Philistines' Dagon of Bible history, of the god Ophion of the Phœnicians, as well as of the Geron, or Triton, of much later Greek myth and art.¹⁰³

The exploits of heroes who peopled the land after the Flood formed a whole cycle of romance, which likewise throws light on many creations of later days. The hero of the national epic, Izdhubar, doubtless Nimrod, the "mighty hunter" of Bible story, whose narrow escapes and marvellous achievements in subduing terrible monsters are recorded in the Deluge tablets of the British Museum, unquestionably furnished the gem-engraver in ancient Babylonia, and

the sculptor in Assyria, with subjects for his fantasy ; and the myth itself furnished, in many respects, the first draught for the stories of the Greek Heracles and Aphrodite.¹⁰⁴ Izdhubar, by some thought to be a solar hero, and by others a more purely historical being, attacked Erech (modern Warka), which was ruled by a goddess or queen celebrated for her beauty, the daughter of Anu, and named Istar, the Ashtoreth of the Bible and the Phœnicians, from whom the Greeks later may have derived their name Aphrodite.¹⁰⁵ In the conflict Izdhubar needed the aid of Heabani, the seer who appears on monuments as having the body of a man, but ox's horns, legs, and ears, and goat's or ox's tail.¹⁰⁶ Istar, conceiving a passion for the powerful Izdhubar which was unrequited, sent against him a hybrid monster, a bull with wings. But with Heabani's aid this monster was slain, Izdhubar dedicating its horns in one of his temples. Sickness afterwards befell the hero, and the sage Heabani was killed by a poisonous animal. To seek immortality for himself and his lamented Heabani, Izdhubar started out to find Hasisadra, or the Bible Noah, the hero who had outlived the Flood, and was believed to be translated to dwell with the gods, somewhere in the neighborhood of the Persian Gulf. On this long and perilous journey Izdhubar wandered to the boundaries of the world, where scorpion-men guarded the gate of the sun, then through the sandy desert, and a forest where the trees bore gems as fruit, until he reached the borders of the sea, and the ocean-gates over which the women Sabitu and Seduri, the "eye of youth," kept eternal watch. At last he met the Chaldæan Charon, with whom he sailed to the abode of the blessed, where he beheld the hero of the Deluge, and heard his story recounted. Here Izdhubar prayed for life to Heabani ; and Merodach, the sun-god, came at his behest : and the ghost of Heabani mounted up from earth, and passed to the heaven of heroes, "where they feast on couches, and drink the pure waters of life." It was here, in the "land of the silver sky," that the court-poets of Nineveh of later times prayed that the "monarch might find his eternal home." For the first lays, telling of Hasisadra and of Izdhubar, we must go back to a past that was already half forgotten in the days of Abraham ; and the tenacity of life of these stories appears from the fact, that one of the Izdhubar legends is still told on the banks of the Tigris about a strange monster dwelling in one of its caves.¹⁰⁷

But besides this semi-mythic, semi-historical epic, there were stories told in Accadian of the creation of Titanic races. One of these tablets, anciently brought to Nineveh from Cutha, describes how the first creation was one of monsters and giants, "men with the bodies of birds of the desert, human beings with the faces of ravens, the terrible brood of Tihamat, the principle of chaos and night." One of these, called "Thunderbolt," gives us, moreover, a hint of the atmospheric origin of the legend.¹⁰⁸ Against these the gods fight ; and terrible are the conflicts in varied form, apparently significant of the eternal battle between light and darkness, fire and moisture, that struggle making up the life

of the cosmic universe. So Merodach, or Bel, the sun-god, with "helmet of light," and his cimeter the lightning-flash, goes out, in ancient Chaldæan myth, against Tihamat, the Deep, and her allies, the seven storm-demons, overcoming this seven-headed serpent of the night by means of the forked thunderbolt in his hand, and by his sickle-shaped sword.¹⁰⁹

On ancient Babylonian cylinders, which were used as talismans or seals, and belong to the age of the Accadian kings, at least 2000 B.C., and perhaps earlier, scenes from the legends of Izdhubar and these struggles with evil frequently appear.¹¹⁰ Those occurring most often are the struggles of Izdhubar and Heabani with the lion and the bull, the journey of Izdhubar in search of Hasisadra, the latter in his ark, and the war between the winged god Merodach and Tihamat the sea-dragon, well represented in the British Museum.

In the religion of Babylon, many elements in the conception of the gods are present which were carried much farther by the Syrians. One striking feature is, that the powers of nature are interpreted as sexual, the female element predominating. The powers that gave life and that destroyed it were, moreover, combined in the one goddess, who at times seems the incorporation of productiveness, and again of destruction. As the enemy of life, she was a stern virgin without love, and armed with deadly weapons, her priests being self-made eunuchs. As life-giving, nurturing mother, on the other hand, she was known by many names, — the good Istar, Beltis, and Mylitta.¹¹¹ When, according to the tablets of the British Museum, Istar disappeared in the underworld, and was there imprisoned, the sexual elements in the animal creation remained dormant on earth, and did not awaken until she was set free. Her rites, in keeping with this latter phase of her character, were thoroughly sensual, and attended by unbridled license, and wildest gratification of the lusts, if we may believe Herodotos' story.

Numerous alabaster statuettes found in the ruins of Chaldæa, some of which are now in the Louvre, represent her as a nude female form, often with hands at the breasts, the fountain-springs of life and nourishment.¹¹² A fragment of a large statue of this goddess, of good workmanship but unpleasant realism, is now in the British Museum. It was found at Koyunjik, and has the dedication of Assur-bel-kala, a king who reigned in the eleventh century B.C., long before the palaces excavated at Koyunjik were built. Besides such feeble reminiscences of early Chaldæan forms, excavations long yielded nothing. The walls of massive temple-ruins and of palaces, built of clay bricks, were found coated simply with plaster, or glazed with gayly-colored tiles. No facings of stone or marble sculptured in relief rewarded the excavator. Besides, the figures discovered were very small, and in terra-cotta or alabaster, clearly, for the most part, the product of a late period, scarcely older than the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Hence the parent-stock whence sprang Assyrian

sculpture, with its elaborate finish, and thorough mastery of technique, was still an enigma.

But the excavations in Southern Chaldæa by M. de Sarzec, French consul at Bassorah, between the years 1877 and 1881, have thrown welcome light on this obscure subject.¹¹³ Here were at last found many statues, and some fragments of relief, which are now in the Louvre, and offer an invaluable testimony to the sculptor's activity in this birthplace of Oriental civilization. The spot where M. de Sarzec has been thus happily rewarded for his patient and self-denying labors is in the midst of a malarial waste on the Chatt-el-Hai, a large artificial canal connecting the Tigris in the north with the Euphrates in the south, and entering the latter river some distance east of the marshes, into which it spreads, before finally joining the Tigris. Tello, where de Sarzec excavated, is remote from settled habitations, being frequented only by nomads. Here a group of mounds, covering a space of about six or seven kilometers from north-west to south-east, rise abruptly out of the broad, boundless plain, and hence have received from the Arabs their name Tello, or "the hills." The largest of these mounds rises fifteen meters above the desert, and has the shape of a parallelogram fifty-three meters long and thirty-one wide; its four corners coinciding with the four points of the compass. When pierced, it was found to contain the ruins of a complicated structure. Courts, large and small, opened into one another by narrow passages; the ground-plan calling strikingly to mind the far more extensive and ambitious palaces of Assyrian kings. At one side was a solid mass of kiln-baked bricks united with bitumen, and rising in terraces, one smaller than the other, suggesting the temple-ruins of Babylon and Assyria, those aspiring towers of Babel planned to command the broad horizon, and serving as a terraced substructure for the temple proper erected on the top. In these modest ruins of Tello, we seem to have an architectural prototype for the later buildings of the land. The age of these structures is determined by the inscriptions in Summerian found on the bricks and sculptured fragments, bearing the name of one Gudea. This Gudea was already known through his inscriptions on a few small bronzes and stone tablets discovered by Mr. Rassam in 1878 and 1879 in Babylonia, and now in the British Museum. His approximate date is supposed to be 2000 B.C., full 1100 years before the oldest discovered Assyrian palaces at Nimroud were built, and about contemporary with the earlier part of the Hyksos rule in Egypt.

In the large mound on the stoneless plain of Chaldæa no sculptured reliefs were found lining Gudea's buildings; but each court, chamber, and passage yielded its contingent of statues, large and small. In the main court, seventeen meters wide by twenty-one meters long, the greatest number were discovered; nine statues, a small stone head, as well as smaller figures, there rewarding the excavator's labors. Outside of the building was found the

largest figure of all, and in a passage a small figure of strange green color; in other mounds a few fragments of relief, besides a remarkably fine head, covered with a turban or wig (Fig. 40); and, in the plain itself, a few bronze figures were brought to light.

It is a matter causing no slight perplexity, that many of these monuments found in the midst of the alluvial plains of Southern Chaldæa are of diorite and dolerite, which could have existed nowhere in the neighborhood, but were favorite materials with the Egyptians. Inscriptions in Summerian on the sculptures themselves give the welcome key to this problem, showing that a lively intercourse existed between Egypt and Ancient Chaldæa. In these inscriptions Oppert has found it stated, that the mountains of Maggan, *i.e.*, the peninsula of Sinai, and that part of Egypt washed by the Red Sea, furnished the stones for the statues which this Chaldæan ruler put up in honor



Fig. 40. Head found at Tello in Southern Chaldæa. Louvre.

of his gods.¹¹⁴ So Gudea seems to take pleasure in recording the fact, that the gold and stones with which he honored his gods were brought from afar.¹¹⁵ These facts, and some superficial peculiarities of the sculptures discovered by M. de Sarzec, such as the square, firm rendering of the form, the lack of ornamental detail, the shorn heads and beardless faces, like those of Egypt, might tempt us to find a certain direct dependence of these Chaldæan remains upon the forms of the art of the pyramid land. Careful observation, however, reveals in them a strong national type, quite

different from any thing Egyptian, and having its own individuality well pronounced.

Signs of the effects of fire in many parts showed that that fierce element had much to do in bringing about the destruction of these Chaldæan monuments. Happily, however, many of the statues and reliefs, though mutilated, have preserved a delightful freshness of form and surface, enabling us to judge of their artistic character. In one of the mounds, fragments of a very primitive art, evidently feeling its way, were brought to light. Here appear reliefs on both sides of a stele of white stone, accompanied by very archaic inscriptions, in which it is thought that primitive idiogrammes may be recognized. In these reliefs the cruel scenes of war are traced with distressing minuteness. Flocks of vultures fly off with heads or other parts of human bodies: again, corpses are piled up, over which men mount, carrying baskets. Others, of much larger stature, carry a sort of military insignia in the shape of a spread eagle, and wear the cap with double horns, so often seen on cylinders and later Assyrian sculptures. The inscriptions connected with these reliefs have

not been deciphered ; but the fact that bronze figures found in graves at Tello carry baskets, as do the figures here represented as walking over the dead, seems to indicate a funereal scene in this relief, perhaps an offering to the dead. The shapes of all these figures betray a very inexperienced hand : the eye, for instance, is almost triangular ; the ear is rudely indicated, as in all early art ; and the aquiline nose is confounded with the forehead in one single curve. Here, then, we seem to have Chaldæan art represented to us in its feeble beginnings. But that it afterwards mounted to firmness of execution, and clear conception of nature, is seen from other remains discovered by M. de Sarzec.

This progress may be traced through two stages, — the first vigorous, and strongly approaching nature ; the second elaborated, and inclined to conventionality. The first class is made up of statues and heads found principally in the large mound. These are all alike in style and technique, and many of them bear Gudea's name inscribed upon the shoulder. They do not, therefore, represent divinity, but, probably, the pious Gudea himself, who, according to a full inscription on one of them, dedicates his own image in the temple of his gods, to whom he promises, besides, offerings of milk and sacred bread. Sometimes the figure is seated, sometimes standing, but always has the hands crossed in the pose taken by Orientals to-day when awaiting their master's orders. The same attitude is, moreover, repeatedly seen in figurines found in other parts of Babylonia, and in large statues from Assyria, doubtless indicating that it had a religious import. One statue with folded hands holds on its lap the plan of a building, and seems to represent an architect, perhaps Gudea himself, who may here present the work he has erected to the gods, the inscription on it making mention of a statue put up by him in the temple (Fig. 41). This quietly seated worshipper — as do the standing figures — has a stocky form, firm build, and short neck. They are clothed in drapery which is fairly pastoral in its simplicity. A long shawl, without any under-garment, is wrapped about the body so as to cover the left arm, and passes around under the right arm, which is thus left nude.¹¹⁶ Sometimes this shawl, as in the figure of the seated architect, is partly covered with dedicatory inscriptions ; and everywhere it is bordered with a narrow fringe. This border, however, is not elaborately worked out, as the richly embroidered borders and fringes on Assyrian sculptures, but is simply indicated by incised parallel lines. It is evident that the artist has endeavored to render the drapery as fitting to the form beneath, and also to represent natural folds, as appears around the arms. This peculiarity is not met with, either in Assyrian or Egyptian sculptures, in both of which the natural folds of woven or embroidered stuffs are ignored. The nude, wherever it appears, is rendered with a keen eye for nature, as seen in the muscular arms, hands, and feet ; the details of toes and fingers being far more truthful than in the schematic or exaggerated treatment of Assyria, or the

absence of these details in Egypt. In the face is evident the most vigor of artistic rendition, as seen in the curious head in Fig. 40, found near the great mound. Here the heavy head-gear is of a stuff which gives the impression of curled hair. It is not impossible that this is an imitation of a kind of sheepskin, still extensively used in Persia for men's bonnets, and called in European trade Astrakhan. M. de Sarzec tells us, that Christian priests of the Chaldæan church in the neighborhood of his excavations still wear a turban made of a



Fig. 41. Statue of an Architect, found at Tello.
Louvre.

black stuff, which has the curled appearance of this ancient head-dress. How square and firm the proportions of the face! The eye, that feature which always caused the ancient sculptor the most difficulty, is here not obliquely set; nor are its lids undecided, but clearly defined, and widely open, giving the face an agreeable expression. The nose seems to have been arching, but not so curved as that met with in Assyrian sculptures; nor is that brutal fierceness in detail here seen which we find in those later works. There seems in these features, indeed, a near kinship to the straightforward simplicity of archaic Greek faces, and, in the pose of the feet, a striking similarity to that of the old statues found at Miletos, and now in the British Museum.

Besides these vigorous sculptures are those which show much greater elaboration on the part of the sculptor. In the latter the old realism, as seen in the turbaned head and the seated architect, disappears; and the eyes are placed obliquely. The shorn heads and beardless faces give place to very carefully curled hair and beards, like the over-fine *coiffure* of Assyrian kings and warriors. But the *finesse* of execution about these fragments partly makes amends for the loss of naturalness.

In addition to these monuments in stone from palace or temple, M. de Sarzec discovered, in graves, others in bronze, which have cuneiform inscriptions, a fact indicating their early and not Greek or Parthian origin, as might be inferred from the number of late graves also occupying the soil. In the plain, M. de Sarzec discovered four cubes of masonry composed of large bricks fastened together with bitumen, the cubes measuring eighty centimeters across the face. Within these cubes he found a cavity filled with yellowish sand, in

which were two bronze statuettes safely packed away, — one a man kneeling, and the other a woman standing. At the feet of each, and fastened into the bitumen lining the cavity, were two tablets, — one of white, and the other of black, stone, — having a cuneiform inscription, which was repeated in the bronze figures. That these in some way concerned the dead appeared when, in the same neighborhood, M. de Sarzec found a tomb in which the skeleton was still lying, and near its head a statuette with a similar tablet and inscription, and bearing on its head a basket. What the exact date of these very interesting bronze figures may be cannot be determined until their inscriptions have been read, although the cuneiform characters speak for an early date. The very great antiquity of the bronze figures of Gudea, which have long been in the British Museum, show, moreover, that casting in bronze was understood as early as his day in that ancient land.¹¹⁷

In these varied monuments in Chaldæa we have, then, in all probability, that parent-stock which should be followed in time by the far more pompous and conventional art of Assyria, the daughter land, and which should influence the early people of Asia Minor and the Phœnicians, as their monuments seem to prove.

CHAPTER VI.

ASSYRIA.

Natural Features of the Land.—Alabaster used for Sculpture.—Absence of Marble.—Character of the Assyrians.—History.—Paucity of Remains from the Oldest Time.—Remains near Beyrout.—Remains from Second Period.—Nimroud.—Assur-nazir-pal's Palace.—*Kirubi*.—Portal Guardians at Nimroud.—Lions.—Mysterious Symbolism.—Union of High and Low Relief.—Alabaster Slabs.—Prominence of the Monarch.—Colossal Winged Figures.—Tendency to Ornamentation.—Prototypes of Greek Ornament.—Bronze and Ivory Fragments.—Balawat Gates.—Incrustation of Statues.—Ruins at Khorsabad.—Sargon's Palace.—Alabaster Reliefs and Sculptural Adornment of Gateways.—Greater Size of Sculptures at Khorsabad.—Statues taking the Place of Bulls at Some Gates.—Incrustation of Palm-tree.—Reliefs.—Glorification of Monarch.—Battle and Hunting Scenes.—Feasting.—Color.—Last Period.—Ruins at Koyunjik (Nineveh) and at Nimroud.—Greater Variety and Elaborateness of Sculpture.—Greater Naturalness.—Assur-bani-pal's Palace.—Little Progress in Human Form.—Representations of Animals.—Hunting-scenes.—Fondness for Brutal Scenes.—Egypt and Assyria Contrasted.

To the north of the level plains of Chaldæa stretches the land of Assur, bounded by the Tigris and the Euphrates. Unlike its southern neighbor, this country is a plateau undulating in character, crossed by hilly ridges, and skirted on the east and north by mountains of greater height. The alluvial clay, which is here most abundant, is suitable for brick and terra-cotta; the near Koordish mountains furnish a hard yellow limestone; and, from the more remote ranges to the north, black basalt is to be obtained. Besides these harder materials, which had, moreover, to be brought from a distance to the ancient building-sites near the Tigris, a soft alabaster, frequently called gypsum, crops out from the rolling plain, and the ridges which border the river. From antiquity this stone has been used, and is still cut by the natives into thin slabs, much smaller, however, than those preserved from the days of Assyria's glory.¹¹⁸ It is of coarse grain, and, when first quarried, has a grayish-white tone, which deepens on exposure to the air. It is, moreover, so soft that it may be whittled like wood, and is most susceptible to the effects of moisture. Reliefs which had been accidentally submerged but three days in the river were found hopelessly obliterated. The surface of sculptures in the British Museum, likewise, shows this perishable nature; being affected by the salt air of the English metropolis, and veiled with a harsh, opaque *patina*, quite different from that of freshly un-earthed slabs, as we are told by Place. The softness and perishability of this material rendered it unfit to become the best medium for expressing sculptural

forms, and allowed the sculptor to venture but timidly into the realm of free execution; although the principal cause of the defects of Assyrian art, doubtless, lies much deeper than any merely technical hinderances. Marble—that material combining clearness and translucency with hardness sufficient to resist injury—does not appear to have been at hand; and the objects in this stone, found in Assyrian ruins, are both small and scarce.

And yet the advantages enjoyed by the Assyrians were far greater than those of their predecessors, the Babylonians in ancient Chaldæa, where not even alabaster was to be found, and stones were brought from remote Sinai and Egypt. Still another advantage enjoyed by the Assyrians was, that of building up their civilization and art on the earlier basis of their neighbors.

Aptly called the “Romans of the East,” their earliest historical rulers appear as mighty conquerors, who know no mercy and give no quarter. By 1500 B.C., Assyria had become a powerful independent state, ruling over northern provinces, as well as Babylonia in the south. In the midst of this earlier period of Assyrian empire, which lasted to about 909 B.C., stand out, as mighty conquerors, Sargon I. and Tiglath Pileser I. Clay tablets, preserved in libraries of later kings, recount the exploits of these monarchs, their prowess, their pillaging expeditions in other lands, and their religious devotion, as shown in the erection of temples to their gods.

Although the Assyrian state was thus extended, and the king, at once head of the army, supreme judge and viceroy, or high-priest, enjoyed unrivalled power, still no palaces of this older time have as yet been discovered. Only stray sculptured fragments have been found, preserved in ruins of a much later day, as their inscriptions testify. Such is the torso of the goddess noticed above (p. 74), and discovered at Koyunjik, ancient Nineveh, and now in the British Museum. It bears the inscription of Assur-bel-kala, an Assyrian king who reigned about 1100 B.C. Here the female form is represented as fully nude; and the sculptor has succeeded in giving the roundness and voluptuousness of Oriental forms, even in the hard material, basalt. But like his fellows of an earlier and later day in Mesopotamia, and, in fact, most people with an undeveloped artistic sense, he has carved his dedicatory inscription directly over the surface of the skin, in disregard of the laws of taste. Whether this statue is, indeed, the work of an early sculptor in Assyria, or was pirated from Babylonia, the home of this nude representation of the female deity, cannot be certain. The latter supposition would find support in the practice, common with conquering kings, like Cambyses at a later day, of carrying off the gods of the conquered peoples.

Near Beyrout in Syria are two monuments, erected by kings of this period, one of them being by Tiglath Pileser I. It is carved in the face of the rock at the Nahr-el-kelb, and rises above the high-road where conquerors from the time of Rameses II. have passed, leaving the records of their success.¹¹⁹ The

Assyrian sculptures here, from about 1140–1100 B.C., have the human figure very low and squat; there are no decorations of dress, hair, and beard, as in later Assyrian sculpture; and the whole cast of the figures calls to mind that of the ancient Babylonian king of 1120 B.C., whose tablet is now to be seen in the British Museum.

But, while the first period of Assyrian empire offers almost nothing for the study of sculpture, the second period is rich in works which have been brought to light.

This second period, lasting for about three hundred years, is ushered in by the powerful form of Assur-nazir-pal, who reigned in the ninth century B.C. (885–860), when Greek minstrels were probably first sounding Homeric verse. The warlike exploits of this monarch are found recorded in lengthy inscriptions, which dwell on the victories he won, and the cruel manner in which he dealt with his captives. We learn that after one campaign he had his victims flayed alive: in another he cut off their hands, feet, noses, and ears, and put out their eyes. Of the heads of decapitated prisoners he made one mound, and of their limbs another; thus signaling in a most ghastly manner the greatness of his power. Captives allowed to live, he impressed into hard service; forcing them to raise a vast mound for his new palace at Nimroud, believed to be the ancient Calah of Scripture, which now became the most important city in the land. Excavations made by Layard in these mounds, about twenty miles south of modern Mosul, uncovered the ruins of Assur-nazir-pal's palace, as well as others of a later date. Among this complex of buildings, the one termed the North-west Palace, and two adjoining smaller structures, were found to contain numerous sculptures. Twenty-five chambers, large and small, were uncovered in the north-west edifice, every one of them yielding its share of carvings. Other chambers, where a simple stucco seemed to take the place of the sculptures, were only partially excavated.

At many of the doorways communicating between these chambers, as well as at what seemed outer gateways, strange figures were found, still keeping watch on either side of the entrance. Of these portal guardians, called by the ancient Assyrians *Kirubi*,¹²⁰ and, doubtless, allied to the cherubim which, in Hebrew story, guard the entrance to the garden of Eden, more than a dozen pairs were found, of various size and composition. Each figure is carved out of one solid block of alabaster; the surface of the largest being on one side two hundred and seventy-two square feet, and of the smallest twenty-five square feet. These colossal figures seem to have been commenced at the quarries; since reliefs now in the British Museum, from the ruins of Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik, indicate their transportation. Here we see the figure of a majestic bull, lying sideways on a sledge, and, again, standing upright, towering high above the pygmy human beings dragging it to its destination.

At Nimroud the ponderous portal guardians, one of which is now in the British Museum (Fig. 42), sometimes have the body of a lion, with its cruel claws and angry tail, but the head of a man, perhaps the portrait of Assurnazir-pal himself. A horned cap covers this head, delicately shaped ear-rings hang from the fully human ears, and the long hair and beard are laid in faultlessly regular curls. From the shoulders springs a strong wing; and, over the chest, feathers lie with the same precision as is seen in the stiff ringlets. The girdle about the body of the monster is given with great regard to decorative



Fig. 42. Portal Guardian from Nimroud. British Museum.

effect, in the peculiar twist of knot and tassels, and finished with extreme punctiliousness. Sometimes this lion-man monster has arms, and holds in one an animal, and in the other a blossom. Usually these figures look outward to all approaching the gate, but sometimes curiously twist their heads to the side, and gaze at each other from across the passage. Very often they have, instead of the body of a lion, that of a bull, — an instance of which is to be seen in the British Museum. In that case the ears are large and ox-shaped, and the band around the belly is lacking. Throughout the details of hair, feathers, and muscles in these bull-formed figures, there is the same primness met with in the lions. Before one small building at Nimroud, as a great exception, these

portal guardians were found to have the forms of pure lions (Fig. 43).) Their threatening jaws and defiant attitude must, indeed, have inspired awe in those who sought to enter the gate; since, even as one of these figures now stands in the dim gray of the British Museum, its tremendous form, intense action, and yawning jaws, suffice to send a shudder over the beholder, and seem a fit symbol of a powerful watch before the dwelling of an Oriental monarch or god.

(The stately forms of the composite monsters standing at the gates do not, like these lions, explain themselves, or hint to us the intention of the ancient sculptor. Nor do their inscriptions teach us their significance; although from other sources it may be gathered, that the adoration of the forces of nature lies at the root of this symbolism, which, from the prominent part it has played in the art of other countries, has given a lively interest to these Assyrian monsters. The visions in the first and tenth chapters of Ezekiel seem to have been written in vivid remembrance of such man, lion, ox, and eagle monsters. As the symbols of the four evangelists, these elements play an important part in Christian art. In similar manner, the horns with which the ancient Chaldæans and Assyrians decorated their sacred cap re-appear in the Hebrew Scriptures as the emblems of power; and, even to-day, the peasant in Mesopotamia ascribes to them such virtue, that he puts up a horned skull in his fields to make them productive, and hangs it over his door to ward off evil.)

(The union of sculpture in the round and very low relief is most characteristic in these Nimroud portal-figures. The whole of the head and the strong paws are carved almost fully in the round; but the wings cling closely to the background, filling up the space not already occupied by the arrow-head inscriptions, those stereotyped formulas continually repeated with little variation in Assur-nazir-pal's sculptures. Thus, while low relief seems to be well rendered, there is a marked absence of all genuine high relief, the combinations offered being any thing but agreeable. To one approaching the gate, the older figures at Nimroud seem to stand motionless, with their front paws firmly set together; but, on passing within, they appear to be walking out vigorously. This strange impression is produced by giving them five legs, — three on the side, and two in front. This desire to represent the winged beast differently from the two points of view is, however, wanting in the later sculptures at Nimroud and Nineveh, where the legs have the natural number, four.)

Sometimes the doorway, instead of being guarded by these statue-like monsters, was simply faced with thin slabs of alabaster, in which, sculptured in very low relief, strange symbolical beings appeared. In the north-west building, this low relief was continued around the walls, lining many chambers and courts.) The museums of Berlin and London are abundantly supplied with specimens of this sculpture: over one hundred and eighty-three meters of it are in different institutions in the United States, and still more was left on the spot where it was found.¹²¹

For this work at Nimroud, large, thin slabs were placed upright against the walls, first having been inscribed on the back with the name, title, and descent of the king Assur-nazir-pal. Iron, copper, and sometimes wooden clamps, held the slabs together; and, after they were securely in place, the sculptor commenced his work. In one of the buildings at Nimroud, two slabs were found in place, although unsculptured.)

What principle guided the sculptor in the distribution of his subjects in the older palaces of Nimroud, we do not know. At the entrance to one of the small buildings, a composition unique in Assyrian sculpture, but calling to mind



Fig. 43. Portal Lion from Nimroud. British Museum.

scenes on Babylonian cylinders, was repeated on each side of the doorway. One of these groups is now in the British Museum (Fig. 44), and represents a colossal bearded being, having four outspread wings, and wearing the horned cap. He pursues a terrible monster, and brandishes forked lightnings, held in either hand. The monster, part lion, and part bird of prey with terrible talons, turns and yawns fiercely on his pursuer, making up a most spirited composition for a religious scene. Near these groups the large form of the fish-god was also discovered, but, like the former, points for its origin back to a mythical genius older than Assyrian art.)

In the greater part of these older Nimroud reliefs, the living monarch, Assur-nazir-pal himself, is the centre of thought and action, always distinguished by his more elaborate dress, and pointed tiara bound around with rich

bands, which fall behind the back. He is attended by bearded officers of state, who stand before him with hands humbly folded; or by beardless eunuchs, who protect him with umbrella or fly-fan raised above his head. The costume of this king varies from that of later times; his tiara being lower and less pointed, and his garments simpler. Sometimes he appears engaged in war: he attacks a fortress; fights in his chariot, protected by the symbol of divinity floating in mid-air above him, or receives prisoners. Again, he is engaged in the hunt, or receives wine at the hands of his attendants. But there is no trace of portraiture in the features; king, humble attendant, and winged god, all being repetitions of the same type.

Although many of these scenes from daily life are interesting, as throwing light on the customs of ancient Nimroud, still none are so characteristic of its art as others representing religious ceremonies in which the king constantly takes part, and which are repeated with incredible monotony. In one chamber, for instance, the king was repeated all around the walls, holding up a cup in one hand, and a bow in the other. Attending him were two equal-sized figures, wearing garlands of rosettes, and having wings, but otherwise thoroughly human.¹²² Around another room were repeated colossal winged figures, wearing horned caps, and carrying mystic symbols, — a square basket, a fir-cone, or a necklace (Fig. 45). These beings stand facing a conventionally arranged combination of palm and fir, the "sacred tree," a most important feature in these religious services, the exact significance of which is, however, not clear.¹²³ Some of these figures, if we may judge from the long hair, peculiar robe, and elaborate necklace, seem to be intended for goddesses; although the absence of breasts, and the masculine type of the face, do not support this view: nor do inscriptions give us the name.

Besides such gigantic figures which, in regular array, cover the surface of the large slabs, there was found in the North-west Palace a long, narrow apartment, where two rows of similar but smaller subjects decorated the walls. Above, in wearisome repetition, two horn-capped, winged forms knelt on either side of the tree; and, below, two eagle-headed, winged monsters appeared, likewise worshipping the ever-recurring tree. What these strange beings represent is enigmatical. It is possible that some represent deity itself, and others priests clad in robes of office.

As artistic compositions, these figures from Nimroud are tedious beyond degree; but, on close examination, their details offer much that is curious. Combined with a gross and extravagant rendering of the form, we find a most astonishing tendency to run into ornamentation. The muscles and joints curve according to decorative lines: no stray lock ventures to flutter out of its regular place, no feather to encroach on its fellow. Gracefully shaped necklaces, ending sometimes in a pomegranate, and calling to mind the descriptions of the adornments of the Jewish high-priest, clasp nearly every throat. Ear-

rings of varied and pleasing shape drop from every ear; and bracelets bind wrist and upper arm of king, attendant, and winged mystic figure.

Still more interesting, perhaps, than these ornaments, witnesses to the goldsmith's skill, are the trimmings of the garments. The elaborately wrought-out fringes suggest a passion for this adornment quite equal to that encouraged by modern fashion, but yield in artistic interest to the designs scratched with great freedom into the borders, doubtless imitating embroidery of actual apparel. These designs are to be seen all around the garment, and, in the case of the king, even over the breast. The most casual observer of these details on Assur-nazir-pal's robes, as they are to be seen on the slabs at Dartmouth



Fig. 44. Conflict between a God and Demon. Nimroud. British Museum.

College, N.H., and in the British Museum, may descry the elements out of which must have grown those borders which decorated Greek temple, vase, and utensil in a far nobler, more homogeneous form. Thus, as a clear prototype of the so-called Greek honeysuckle ornament, may be seen on these Assyrian robes a tuft of spreading palm-leaves or full-blossomed lotos, alternating often with a closed bud. A pleasing decorative effect is here produced; but the elements of which it is composed are not gracefully veiled to our eyes, as in the ideal Greek productions. Sometimes these plant-ornaments alternate with deer, fallen on their knees before the sacred symbol; again, birds seem to spread their wings before it, strange composite monsters occasionally taking their places.

Of even greater interest than these scenes is the one design in which a

winged figure in horned cap holds two dangling deer, and has the same pose that is given to a female figure, constantly recurring on very old Greek ornaments and vases, such as have been found especially in Rhodes. In many cases these bits of Assyrian embroidery seem to open up a glimpse into the passage of art-forms from the far-off Tigris valley to the Hellenic world.¹²⁴

These brodered borders on the figures from Nimroud, dating from about 885 B.C., are far richer than those discovered in later Assyrian ruins. In the latter the love of elaborate and profuse decoration continues; but the interesting combinations of man, beast, bird, and flower disappear, and are supplanted by a profusion of rosettes, circles, and squares, covering the whole surface of the dress, conjectured by Semper to imitate woven and no longer embroidered materials.¹²⁵

If, to all this detail, we add the colors which once made these sculptures brilliant, we can easily imagine the effect produced, like a vast tapestry lining the apartments of the palace. The sandals were painted red or black; the hair, lips, eyes, and ornaments, and probably the borders also, received color; but there is no sign that the whole surface was thus covered: and the mild, natural tones of the alabaster, with the gentle shadows of the sculpture, must have blended in a pleasing decorative effect.

But the artist has cut across the whole length of his highly finished work the never-failing inscription, which, added to the character of the sculptures, shows that decoration was secondary, and that his main object was the recounting in pictures the greatness and glory of the monarch. Provided this chronicle were clear, the artist does not seem to have cared to go farther, — granted that he were capable of any thing higher.

Besides these chronicle and decorative sculptures, one small statue of the king in silicious stone was found, which is now in the British Museum. This form is worked out fully in the round, deep fringes and drapery encircling its back; and yet, when seen from the side, the flattened look of this figure leaves the impression of nothing more than high relief, and fails to satisfy any of the requirements of statuary proper.

Of no slight importance for the history of art are fragments of bronze from Nimroud, some of which show that casting was known in ancient Assyria. Such is a part of a leg and hoof cast around a kernel of iron, and now in the British Museum. Bowls with most curious designs of a mixed Egyptian and Assyrian character, and bronze weights in the form of crouching lions, bearing Assyrian and Phœnician inscriptions, as well as ivory carvings, having an Egyptian cast, were also found. All these latter have, however, a character so foreign to the sculpture on the slabs, that their appearance in the heart of Assyria has given rise to much conjecture; but, as it is now agreed that they are imported Phœnician wares, their artistic character will be discussed when treating of Phœnician art.

About fifteen miles east of Mosul, in the mound called Balawat, those remarkable plates of bronze were found, which, known as the "Gates of Balawat," are now in the British Museum.¹²⁶ These bronze plates, beaten out to represent scenes from the life of Shalmaneser II., who reigned between 859 and 825 B.C., show us the battles, triumphs, cruelties, and devotions of this king, in multitudinous small figures. All these are accompanied by explanatory inscriptions, so badly crowded together, and careless in work, as to seem intended more for ornament than reading. One of the most interesting scenes is that where a sculptor, with hammer and chisel, is carving the image of the king in



Fig. 46. Mystic Figures before the "Sacred Tree." From Nimroud. British Museum.

the rock, while another stands by to direct. The inscription reads, "From the sources of the river Tigris I descended, victims to the gods I sacrificed, an image of my majesty I caused to be set up." Here we have a valuable explanation of figures, sculptured as triumphal monuments on the mountain sides of Koordistan, and found even as far as remote Syria, at the mouth of the Nahr-el-keleb, near Beyrout.

The chief significance of these gates, however, lies in the principle of incrustation they embody. Their bronze bands were merely coverings, which ran at intervals across the wooden surfaces of two enormous folding-doors, thus at once hiding and ornamenting the wood. The stone sculptures in Assyria are often slavish imitations of such incrustation in metal. On a fragmentary obelisk of white calcareous stone, now in the British Museum, according to the inscrip-

tion, executed for Assur-nazir-pal, and decorated with his exploits, the stone carving is most clearly an imitation of metal. Thus the figures, as a chariot and its horses, are bent right around the corner of the obelisk, after the manner of a pliable metal relief, but out of keeping with the nature of stone carving.

That not only parts of buildings were incrustated with metal, but, likewise, figures of the gods, appears from an historical tablet of Tiglath Pileser II. (about 745 B.C.), discovered at Nimroud, in which he says, "And figures carved in the likeness of the great gods I made, and they inspired reverence. Coats of Karri gold, silver, and copper I covered over them. I beautified their workmanship;" but, of course, figures so tempting to the avarice of man have not been preserved.

This practice of covering a cheaper material with metal we meet later. It was continued by the Phœnicians in the construction of Solomon's temple, and handed on to the Greeks, to play an important part in their glorious art.

On a fertile plain eighteen kilometers north-east from Mosul at (Khorsabad, Assyrian sculptures were discovered, in many respects different from the older monuments at Nimroud.) Khorsabad was first excavated by the French consul, Botta, in 1848; but the work was completed with rare thoroughness by Place in 1864. In these mounds was laid bare the work of Sargon, a usurper, who, after fifteen years of conquest and bloodshed, here built his palace and city between 711 and 705 B.C. He himself in extant monuments tells his story. "At the foot of Mount Mousri, in order to take the place of Nineveh, I made, according to divine will, and desire of my heart, a city which I called Hisir(Sargon). I have constructed it that it may resemble Nineveh, and the gods who reign in Mesopotamia have blessed the splendid walls and the superb streets of this city. In order to call thither inhabitants to inaugurate the temple and the palace where is enthroned my majesty, I have chosen the name, I have traced the enclosure, I have named it after my name."¹²⁷

Here, on the plain stretching away to the Tigris, within a mile of hilly summits, human hands have piled up at Sargon's behest 1,350,000 cubic meters of clay, kneaded like that so vividly described by the prophet Nahum. So vast is this mound, that we hardly know which most awakens wonder,—the number of hands required to toil in its erection, or the strange phenomenon of an artificial hill, raised in close proximity to mountains where not only rock abounded, but many a summit offered itself suitable for the site of a new capital. On this hill of clay was found, spread out in vast proportions, Sargon's royal residence, besides a small building, from its general disposition supposed to be a throne-room or audience-hall, and, to the south, one of those solid terraced pyramids of sun-dried brick, built in stages of diminishing circumference, and doubtless serving, as in Chaldæa, for religious purposes. It seems to have had seven stages, corresponding to the seven heavenly bodies,—the sun, moon, and five

planets, — whose holy number was worshipped from a similar pyramid at Ecbatana, and from others in Chaldæa. Four of these stories alone remained at Khorsabad, each of them 6.10 meters (20 feet) in height. These were found to have been painted in different colors on a layer of stucco; the varied hues, doubtless, having been emblematical of the celestial bodies. From the summit of this gay pyramid, thus raised more than 24 meters (80 feet) above the plain, it is probable that astronomical observations were made, for the priests were astronomers as well; the religious systems of ancient Chaldæa, and its daughter land, Assyria, having been thoroughly interpenetrated with the worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially the stars. There can be no doubt that these pyramids were looked upon as sacred buildings, — no other structures having been found corresponding to temples, — and that their summits were crowned by small shrines or altars, which may have had sacred images. In art character these Assyrian temples fall infinitely short of the structures raised to their gods by both Egyptians and Greeks.

Turning from this ancient tower of Babel ("gate of God"), to the royal palace itself, we find that fourteen grand halls and many smaller apartments, covering four hectares (nearly ten acres) of land, and connected by numerous doorways, united to form the Seraglio, the smaller ones, doubtless, occupied by the monarch himself and his immediate attendants, and the larger corresponding to state apartments of modern palaces.

At the southern corner of the building we come upon a whole complex of courts and rooms, the safe retreat of Sargon's wives and children. Spacious and gorgeously decorated courts within this harem offered pleasure-grounds for their ladyships; but only two exits communicated with the outer world, and these well guarded by small chambers, doubtless for attendant eunuchs. A vast court formed the core of the remaining part of the palace. On the side towards the harem were storehouses, as was evident from their build, and their contents when discovered. On the other side were stables, kitchens, and outbuildings of various kinds. Numerous passages piercing the walls connected the two parts of the palace.

At the foot of this regal dwelling M. Place found Sargon's city, surrounded by high walls furnished with towers. Place calculated that the walls originally towered up twenty-three meters, a height greater than that of houses facing modern city avenues, and had a still greater width (twenty-four meters). Piercing them were three ornamental gateways, and four of less ambitious finish, but all so spacious and complex in build as to call to mind the importance of the city-gate in the story of Abraham and of Boaz and Ruth.¹²⁸

All these walls, whether of palace or surrounding the city, and varying from two to twenty-four meters in thickness, were built of sun-dried brick. Kiln-baked brick, indeed, made the vaulted ceilings, and covered the floors; but otherwise the structures were all of this crumbling, crude material. Being

thus perishable, as well as uncomely, the clay was not left exposed; but, throughout the vast buildings, a lining was found to cover the walls from top to bottom. In many parts, as in the ladies' retired apartments, as well as in the magazines, stables, and kitchens, subject to hard usage, a simple stucco made of lime was applied for this purpose, such as is still used in the Orient. Sometimes, as in the bed-chambers of the harem, the stucco was painted with arabesques, animals, and human beings.

(But the gates, frequented by crowds, and where royalty passed in and out, as well as the state apartments, where daily was to be seen the pomp of a great sovereign, required other and more durable decoration. As at Nimroud, so here were, consequently, placed alabaster monoliths of colossal size; while slabs of alabaster, but twenty centimeters thick, lined the royal courts and chambers to the height of three meters. Above them, the wall and vaulted ceiling were hidden by enamelled brick and painted stucco.)

(Being of so soft a material, these monoliths and slabs offered a tempting field for the sculptor in displaying the deeds of a powerful monarch. It is not strange, then, that twenty-six pairs of portal-bulls, each weighing 140,000 kilogrammes (over 3,000 cwt.), were found at various gateways, and that 6,000 square meters of relief lined the palace. All this magnificence was, moreover, the work of less than six years; for Sargon commenced building his city 711 B.C., and died 705 B.C. His son, Sennacherib, not occupying the palace, the neglected building must soon have crumbled to a hopeless ruin, and the sculptures have only been preserved by the fallen clay masses. A part of these sculptures may now be seen in the Louvre and the British Museum; a part have long since dissolved in the Tigris, where they sank in a storm during removal; and still more remain among the ruins at Khorsabad.)

(What principle guided the sculptor at Khorsabad in adorning some gateways with bulls, while he simply ran sculptured slabs around others, is not in every case clear; although, with regard to the city gates, it is evident that those where horses and chariots passed in and out were finished in the simpler manner.)

(One of these ornamented gates, according to the inscription, the "gate of the south," was found by M. Place intact, its discovery throwing a flood of light upon Assyrian sculpture in its relation to architecture. On either side of the doorway stood, like sentinels, human-headed bulls, facing the stranger approaching the city (Fig. 46); and within winged genii adorned each side of the passage. The arch above appeared to spring from the mitred heads of the bulls, and the heavy clay vault to ride on their outstretched wings and the heads of their strange winged companions. The latter, while following the movement of the bulls, turned full front face to one passing through the gateway. Brilliantly enamelled bricks, in which yellow and blue predominated, faced this arch, and represented winged beings holding cones alternating with rosettes. But

in reality these bulls and winged beings did not bear the arch above, which was carried by the immensely thick wall against which these forms were adjusted merely as decoration. Owing to the addition of a fifth leg, as at Nimroud, these bulls from the side seemed most inappropriately to be walking out from under their load, while from the front they seemed standing motionless. These portal-figures at Khorsabad are less varied than those at Nimroud, and were conjectured by M. Place to be portraits of Sargon himself. But recent study of the language has shown that the colossal lions at the entrance of the royal palaces represent the god Nergal, "whose non-Semitic name, *Nē-erū-gal*, characterizes him as the governor of the great city or the empire of death."¹²⁹)

The main difference between these bulls at Khorsabad and the older ones at Nimroud is their far greater size, their horned tiaras being likewise taller and more imposing. We are not a little surprised to find, that from the pointed bovine ears are suspended earrings of graceful shape. The carefully scrolled mustache and ringlets, the symmetrical plumage, and amusingly regular veins and muscles of these dandy-bulls, witness throughout to the ruling passion of the Assyrian sculptor to reduce every detail, however incongruously, to ornament.)

These huge city guardians at the "gate of the south" were found by Place without a feather broken. Color still shone freshly on eyes and eye-

brows, which were pencilled with black, giving a calm expression of life. Could we imagine them once more standing beneath the gayly-colored arches, and surrounded by all the gaudy splendor of Oriental royalty, then we should be better able to conceive the true impression of these emphatically decorative sculptures. Several of the palace-gates were even more luxuriously decorated by the combination of four bulls (Fig. 47). Where, as in the outer wall of the palace, facing the city, and in one of its great courts, these gates were near together, a colossal bearded being (perhaps Izdhubar) filled up the space between the haunches of the outer bulls, his face and shoulders looking out in full front view, but his feet standing in profile. Although holding in his suffocating grasp a struggling lion, Izdhubar's hair, beard, drapery, and ear-rings are faultlessly regular.

Before the doorways of the harem, which were faced with brilliantly enamelled brick, statues were found, apparently taking the place of bulls. Of these



Fig. 46. Gate of the South in the City-wall at Khorsabad.

statues eight were discovered, heavy in composition and execution, but were all lost in the Tigris. Arms holding a vase were attached to the body, the feet were completely covered by the cumbrous garment around them, and hair fell from the mitred head in so shapeless a mass as to blot out the lines of neck and shoulder.¹³⁰ It is possible that the fragile alabaster may be somewhat responsible for the lack of the statuesque in these figures; and yet the same failings are apparent in a seated figure of much harder stone from Kalah-Shergat, to be seen in the British Museum: a great contrast to the severely sculptural character of Egyptian statuary is here to be noticed.

One curious feature of portal decoration in the harem was a colossal imitation of a palm-tree, consisting of wood incrustated with bronze. A piece of cedar-wood nine meters long, and as large around as a man's body, was found sheathed in bits of bronze, which overlapped like the sheaths of a palm-tree; and a fragment of gold discovered near by, which is now in the Louvre, indicates a costly gilding. Here we have another witness, like the Balawat gates, to the use of metal incrustation in Assyria.

In the interior of the Seraglio continuous reliefs, as at Nimroud, adorned the walls, which, if placed in a line, would have extended for two kilometers; but their inscriptions, unlike those of the earlier sculptures, were banished to the back of the slabs. (Numerous terra-cottas, resembling an arm and a closed hand, were discovered, a few of them still remaining in the wall. These M. Place conjectured to have been arranged along the top of the slabs, so as to give the effect of hands holding them in place, as we may imagine hands holding carpets. George Smith, however, believed these hands to be simply talismans against evil. It is possible that both ideas may have been united by this people, so prone to turn the forms of their religious art into decoration. It has with much reason been conjectured, that these sculptured slabs themselves were a development out of those embroidered and woven hangings which served as protection and decoration of the walls in ancient Babylon; and hence these alabaster reliefs have been graphically called "petrified hangings"¹³¹)

(The whole idea of the reliefs of the palace, to use Place's fine figure, is that of an epic celebrating the glories of the monarch builder.) As in written poems the epic opens with an invocation to superior beings, so here sacred effigies occupy the threshold, after which the narrative proceeds with true Oriental garrulousness, flattering to the prince and people.

The scenes on first entering were devoted to royal pomp. In the larger courts, one of which was lined with one hundred and twenty meters of relief, the colossal king and attendants, towering up nine feet to the top of the slabs, walk in single file. (Like the portal figures, these reliefs, when compared with the smaller, more delicately finished work at Nimroud, show a growing taste for immensity and imposing size.) The terrible Sargon in elaborate robes

continually re-appears, calmly receiving the homage of his subjects, who follow one another with the stolid dignity of royal receptions in the Orient of to-day. One attendant holds over the monarch a fan : another bears his weapons. The figures in front stand with folded hands ; and vase-bearers hold their vessels on the tips of thumb and fingers, with the affected dignity of modern Orientals. When the king is performing sacred rites, his assistants are winged figures with horned caps ; but the religious element in Khorsabad is far less pronounced than at Nimroud.

Quite different scenes cover the walls of the (smaller chambers. We see depicted battle and hunting scenes in double, treble, and sometimes fourfold, rows of reliefs, in which large numbers of small figures of various nationalities are represented in much the same style as in those at Nimroud (Fig. 48). In these scenes the history is clearly a one-sided national glorification. So anxious is the sculptor to impress us with the invincible prowess of the Assyrians, that he never allows us the fascination of uncertainty in watching a deadly conflict,



Fig. 47. Palace Gateway. Khorsabad.

or gives us a gleam of hope for the enemy. Prisoners are being carried off, and booty is being appropriated. Spreading out before us inhuman tortures, now the victor impales the victims before our eyes ; now holds up their ghastly heads, or gives their bodies as carrion to vultures. On one slab we see Sargon holding two prisoners by cords hooked into their lips, calling to mind the threat made to Pharaoh (Ezek. xxix. 4), "I will put hooks into thy jaws." And yet all this is done in carvings which show such guileless ignorance of perspective, and such gross faults in drawing and composition, that what was intended to be horrible becomes rather amusing:

(It is refreshing to turn from these battle-scenes to those more attractive ones in which Sargon, "a mighty hunter," like Nimrod of old, frees the land from dangerous beasts. How great the passion of the Assyrian monarchs for the hunt appears from an inscription in which Tiglath Pileser tells us, that one hundred and twenty lions were slain by him on foot, and that eight hundred more fell before his weapons, as he and his men rode in their chariots. These

representations of animals on the slabs are admirable. The horses and lions are better drawn than those of Nimroud, and show a keen eye for nature in the sculptor.)

Besides these, we see on the walls convivial scenes. Eunuchs dip wine out of graceful basins with still more graceful vases, ending in lions' heads, and pass the beverage to feasters seated on elaborate thrones.

As at Nimroud, these sculptures were touched up with (color,) the background and nude being left the natural tone; but the hair and features, the jewels, weapons, and sandals, received black, red, and blue, as the case required. Much of the color faded on exposure, but was brilliant when first discovered. How graphic now seems the description of these images by Ezekiel, as portrayed on the walls with vermilion, girded with girdles, and altogether too seductive for his own people, the Hebrews!

The (last period of Assyrian history) included the reigns of several powerful monarchs, — Sargon's son Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.), who was followed by Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.), Assur-bani-pal (668–626 B.C.), and Assur-ebil-ili (625–605 B.C.) — each of whom was a builder, and consequently a patron of the sculptor's art. At the close of this brilliant century, Assyria's power succumbed to that of its younger, more vigorous rival, Persia. Nineveh, the capital, was now completely destroyed; and its palaces, consumed by fire, were left to rapid decay.

The ruins which harbor the principal monuments of this last period in Assyria were found at Koyunjik, opposite modern Mōsul, and at Nimroud. On the former site, that of ancient Nineveh, were spread out the regal structures of Sennacherib and his grandson, Assur-bani-pal. At Nimroud were the palace of Esarhaddon, adorned with sculptures from an older building by Tiglath Pileser; and the unpretending palace of Assur-ebil-ili, the last-known Assyrian monument.

From all these buildings, excavated at different times by Layard, Rawlinson, Rassam, and Smith, many sculptures have been removed, and are now in the British Museum. Those from Koyunjik, ancient Nineveh, showed the wasting effects of fire; many slabs having reached England in three or four hundred fragments, which were afterwards re-adjusted. The material of these later monuments continues, in Sennacherib's buildings, to be coarse, soft alabaster; but in the palace of Assur-bani-pal it is supplanted by a hard limestone, in which, on account of its compact grain, sculptural details could be more vigorously expressed.

While in general the subjects treated remain about the same, — the pomp, wars, victories, chase, and religious services of the king, always burdening the sculptor's fancy, — still, within this range, acceptable variations are introduced, and a livelier, more elegant form of recounting history is evident.) In Sen-

nacherib's palace, for instance, we see building going on ; colossal bulls being transported ; high-stepping horses, the pride of the royal equerrie, so full of mettle as scarcely to be held by their diminutive hostlers. There is, moreover, (a nearer approach to nature than in the sculptures of the older time. The ponderous portal figure is seen no longer with five legs, but walks on four. In relief, the solemn procession in single file disappears : the simple arrangement of the battle-scenes in tiers yields to more complicated and elaborate compositions, in which hundreds of small but energetic figures cover the whole slab, marching, fighting, or attacking fortresses. Details of river, mountain, bush, or morass are also added to make the story clearer. Were it not for the stiff and faulty drawing, our sympathies might be aroused for the lands and people overrun by these multitudes. But in looking at the human figures, whether king, common soldier, or wounded prisoner, we find that the sculptor has gone



Fig. 48. Battle-scene from Nimroud

but little beyond his predecessors. The same lack of true movement is evident, and the same conventional rendering of muscles and the nude, which seem a reminiscence rather than a reproduction of life. It is possible that this summariness of treatment should be laid at the door of the workmen, who only carried out their master's designs. In a fragmentary clay relief, representing the king in combat with a lion, now in the British Museum, we seem to have an original from a master-hand. In it the arms and legs of the king are represented with a keen sense of nature, and startling freshness of observation. And yet this same relief shows the old traditional rendering of the drapery, hiding and not following the form.

In Assur-bani-pal's palace we meet the king, lounging under a bower of vines, attended by servants, and a figure conjectured to be his wife, which, if true, is the only case of the representation of an Assyrian lady.^{131a} Nothing, however, in form or feature, shows conclusively that this is a female figure. The monarch seems to be enjoying his festive cup, in spite of the ghastly heads dangling from the branches above. This relief is another striking illustration

of the subordination of every thing else to ornament. The garments are richly embroidered; and over the king is thrown a costly spread, from which dangle heavy tassels. The laden table, or altar, and the cone-shaped object, are those occurring in scenes of a religious character, and seem to indicate that the sculptor tried to represent some solemn ceremony. The rich ornamental details seen on the figures extend to the lounge and other objects. (The legs of the couch rest on crouching lions, facing outwards; lions in pairs leap at each other along the whole front of the lower support of the lounge; above, strange half-figures, separated by a cone, are apparently inlaid into the upper part, all doubtless imitations of ivory and metal incrustations in use in the furniture of Assyrian palaces.)

And yet, with all this enthusiasm for ornament, there is little progress in

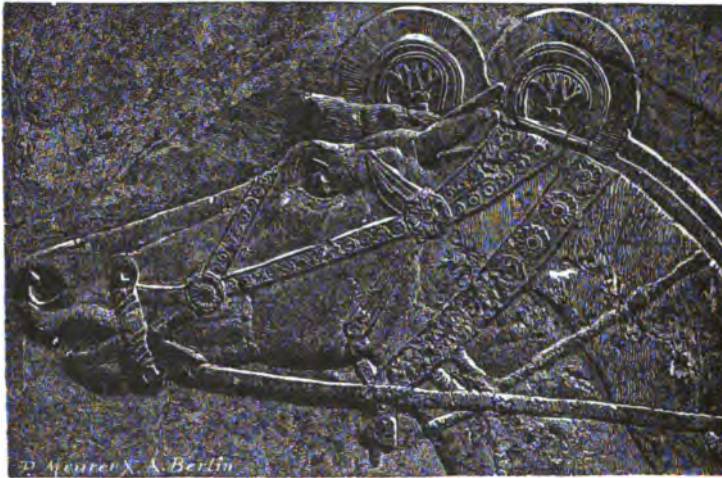


Fig. 49. Head of an Assyrian Chariot-horse, from Assur-bani-pal's Palace. Koyunjik. British Museum.

the human forms. The braceleted hand is no more correctly drawn than in older sculptures. The lying figure is drowned in the flood of meaningless stuffs. The draped forms of the attendants, who hold over the feasters the usual fan, are expressed with no truer rendering of nature than in older carvings.

—But these later sculptures are unsurpassed in their representations of the brute creation, as may be seen in the slabs in the British Museum. The angry steeds attached to Assur-bani-pal's chariot, with ears laid back, distended jaws, and protruding eye-sockets, are given in admirable profile, and show us the horse to have been a familiar and favorite object in Assyrian art, in that respect strongly contrasted to the art of Egypt (Fig. 49). A group from Assur-bani-pal's hunting series shows with what power the sculptor gave the canine form (Fig. 50). The keeper can hardly hold these fierce brutes, whose well-shaped heads and strong forms are strained in the effort to make a vehement

plunge. That dogs of such huge dimensions actually wandered about Assyrian palaces appears from the impress of a paw, as large as a man's hand, left in the clay at Khorsabad.

In few groups is the fierceness of these brutes better expressed in a compact composition than in that slab from Assur-bani-pal's palace, where a wild



Fig. 50. *Hunting-scene, from Koyunjik. British Museum.*

ass (Fig. 51) falls under the attack of four of these powerful hunting-dogs. In the pose, and even the face, of their victim, we see the anguish of the moment,—a speaking contrast to the fierceness of his persecutors.

(In reliefs with lions, the Assyrian appears to have reached the acme of his skill ; so that the lion has well been called the “hero of Assyrian art.” How faithfully the details of the hunt, and how tragically the animal's fate, are depicted on the walls of Assur-bani-pal's palace !) We see the beast creep cautiously from the cage, opened by the keeper, into the park ; we watch him turn

fiercely on the monarch, who, single-handed or from his chariot, now attacks him; we see him fall, pierced by many arrows, witness his dying agony, and finally see the powerful dead form borne away, to be placed at the monarch's feet. (What could surpass such scenes as the one where the enraged lioness, pierced by the fatal arrows, drags after her her hind-legs, paralyzed by approaching death (Fig. 52), or that other where the mitred monarch, before an altar-like table and sacred cone, pours a libation over his victims of the chase (Fig. 53)? The grandeur of the lions' heads, here arranged in perspective at the feet of the monarch, may challenge the world in vividness of artistic power. Nothing could be more astonishing, however, than the contrast between these majestic brute-forms and the figure of the king, in which the sculptor's power is exhausted in the elaboration of ornament, and details of woven stuffs.

(The representation by preference, in Assyria, of these more terrible beasts, such as the snorting war-horse, fierce dog, and fiercer lion, seem, moreover, in



P. Meyer X. A. Bertin.

Fig. 51. Dogs pulling down a Wild Ass. Koyunjik. British Museum.

Keeping with the character of a people whose art scarcely ever rises above the expression of brute force, its main interest centring in the doings of a powerful brutal people, whose ponderous physiques are given without any shades of difference.) The size and weight of the iron instruments, discovered by Place in Sargon's palace, which are altogether too heavy for modern natives to wield, add still another witness to their physical power.

(How great the contrast between this art of Assyria and that of Egypt, where temple and tomb form the centre! In Assyria the temple is but an appendage of the palace: of tombs there are no traces.) Hence the presumption that the Assyrians buried their dead in some far-off holy land. Such to them was their parent land, Chaldæa, where immense fields of the dead, still unexplored, stretch far out into the desert. The tenacity of the Oriental to such sacred customs is vividly illustrated by the caravans, still to be seen, year after year, laden with bones of rich and poor, passing even from the remoter northern provinces of Persia, to far-off Kurbela, in Southern Mesopotamia, for burial.

(Living royalty, doubtless possessing much of a religious character, was the

all-absorbing theme of the Assyrian sculptor, not, however, expressed in stupendous and eternal statues, or in an intemperate spreading of relief all over the vast surfaces of the temples, but in slabs of medium size, more or less directly imitations of carpet-hangings.) This modest size prevented the Assyrian sculptor from some of the discrepancies of Egyptian art. He was not tempted to give his monarch the disproportionate size of the Pharaoh in Egyptian reliefs, where the huge chief, Gulliver-like, overshadows his Liliputian followers, and thus renders harmony in composition an impossibility. But, on the other hand, how unworthy of the prominence it received in Assyria,



Fig. 62. *Dying Lioness.*

was all this elaboration of stone embroidery, — these fringes, borders, and scrupulous toilettes, — especially as attended by neglect of the human form, and the reduction of the muscles to an ornamental scheme! In Egypt, on the other hand, the human form was kept pre-eminent, and treated with a severely sculptural touch.

A certain vigor is, indeed, expressed in Assyrian faces in relief: the eye is partially given in true profile by deeply cutting in the inner corner; and the more natural curve of the upper lid is contrasted to the flat, almond-shaped eye of Egyptian relief. The chest and shoulders are given a more natural profile; but strange blunders are often visible, as in one relief, where the right and left hand of an archer exchange places.

A striking evidence of the lower level of Assyrian art is the nearly total

absence of individuality in the faces, especially when compared with the mastery of the animal form. The king is distinguished only by richer robes and head-dress, the god by his symbolical wings or other emblems, foreigners by different attire from that of native Assyrians.

(The chief distinction, however, between Egyptian and Assyrian art, lies in their style; that is, their interpretation of natural objects according to generalized ideal form, which in Egypt is of nobler quality.) With all their natural gifts, and admirable skill in the representation of animals, the chief productions of the Assyrians are the expressions of a style which required incongruous combinations of the most foreign elements, awakening a smile of pity for men

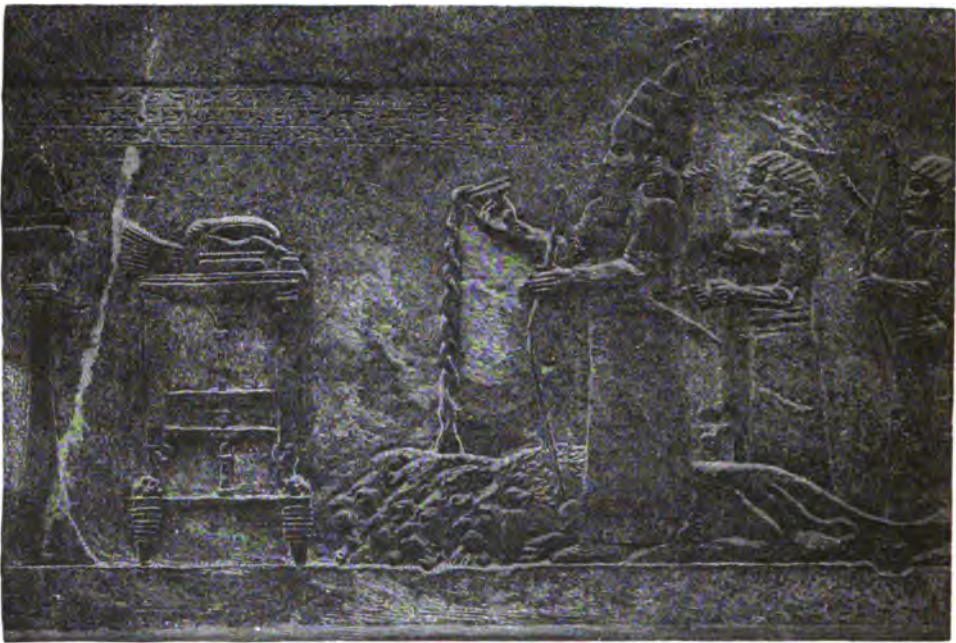


Fig. 53. Assur-bani-pal pouring out a Libation on Slain Lions. Koyunjik. British Museum.

who could create such puerilities. In the Nile valley, the animals in connection with the architecture never bear any thing, but, like the grand sphinxes or lions, recline in dignified repose before the pylons, or, like the sacred apes, sit around the base of the obelisk, or on the top of the cornice. In Assyria, on the other hand, the winged bull and yawning lion appear to be carrying a massive arch, even though represented as at the same time walking out vigorously from under it. Even the sacred sphinx, when transplanted to the Tigris, is burdened with a pillar. In Egyptian statuary, the lion, like the famous beasts of the British Museum, from Gebel Barkal (Fig. 26), is nobly conventionalized in all the dignity of the Egyptian style. Bold, strong surfaces at once emphasize the grand repose of the king of beasts, and express all the terrible possibilities slumbering in his majestic form; thus impressing

far more than the fierce rage of the Nimroud lions, as seen in their gaping jaws, threatening teeth, and excited pose (Fig. 43).

The incredible duration of Egyptian civilization enables us to watch the course of its art through numerous stages of rise, progress, decline, and revival, until its final decay. The sculptures of Assyria are, on the other hand, of comparatively short duration; and their great interest for us lies in the fact, that these elaborate stone embroideries, these graceful ornaments on weapon and utensil, and these gross but luxurious forms, should communicate their influence by the channels of trade and conquest to Persia and the distant shores of the Mediterranean, influencing the art-forms of coming and more gifted nations.

CHAPTER VII.

PERSIA.

Historical Sketch. — Ignorance of Early Persian Sculptures. — Remains at Pasargadæ. — So-called Cyrus Tomb. — Remains at Behistan. — Eclectic Character of Persian Art. — Persepolis. — Description of Ruins. — Relief of King strangling Monster. — Other Reliefs. — Elaborate Representations of Thrones. — Rock Tombs of Persepolis. — Tomb of Darius. — No Growth after Artaxerxes Ochus. — Feebleness of Art from Time of Sassanid Rule.

THE ancient political life of Central and Western Asia was a changing drama, in which nations passed through the vicissitudes of conquerors and conquered, the victors in many cases adopting to a greater or less extent the art of the conquered people. Assyria overcame Media, only to sink before it; and Media in turn fell before the more vigorous sister-people, the Persians, a hardy mountain race, whose energetic rulers carried their sceptre to remote parts of the world, and maintained for two centuries and a half an important place among civilized nations. The deeds of Cyrus (559–529 B.C.) and Cambyses (529–521 B.C.), the conquering expeditions of Darius and Xerxes (521–465 B.C.), sufficiently illustrate the importance of ancient Persia as a political power during the years of its strength. But although the events of this history are familiar to us, and brilliant accounts are on record of Ecbatana, the capital of ancient Media, as well as of Pasargadæ, Persepolis, and Susa, the great cities of the Persian monarchs, still our knowledge of sculpture in these lands is but fragmentary.¹³²

Of the early steps of this sculpture, we have no witnesses. The ruins of Ecbatana still await excavation. The most important remains of the later sculptural art of ancient Persia are the well-known ruins at Pasargadæ and Persepolis, and the relief still to be seen at Behistan, in the mountains of Koordistan.

In the neighborhood of modern Murghab stand the ruins of Pasargadæ, the home of Cyrus and his powerful house. Here are left standing a few shattered pillars and a piece of wall, which once were parts of a palace. On this wall appears a strangely sculptured human figure with four colossal wings, somewhat like those seen in Assyrian carvings (Fig. 54). The head is crowned by a head-dress, similar to those worn by the Pharaohs of Egypt; a horn seems to twist around the ear; and a long, fringed garment, like Assyrian robes, drops

to the feet unbroken by folds. An inscription above the figure reads, "I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmenid;" and it would be possible to refer this strange figure to that king without hesitation, were it not for the Egyptian head-dress, the crown of Egypt being first attained by Cyrus's successor, Cambyses. But, whoever this being represents, we see foreign features, chiefly Assyrian, are prominent in this earliest known sample of Persian sculpture.

At Behistan, on the great high-road from Babylon, through the Koordish defiles to the east, is a relief of more developed character.¹³³ In the precipitous mountain side, and more than fifty meters above the road, this gigantic relief is carved, seven meters and a half in length, a work of marvellous boldness and difficulty. Here a king treads with one foot on a fallen enemy, and



Fig. 54. Most ancient known Persian Relief. Pasargadæ.



Fig. 55. King on Throne, with Attendant. Portal Relief. Persepolis.

raises his hand towards a row of nine approaching prisoners. Behind him are two attendants; and above floats a winged human-headed disk, like that often seen accompanying Assyrian kings. A rope binds the prisoners together by their necks, their hands are fastened behind them, and their bent posture gives them an expression of great distress. Their different nationalities are indicated by costumes such as are still to be seen in those parts of the Orient. From the accompanying inscription, we learn that the great renovator of the kingdom, and re-establisher of the religion of Zoroaster, Darius Hystaspes, here triumphs over rebels, the most dangerous one, the impostor known in history as the "false Smerdis," now lying with outstretched arms under the monarch's feet. The date of this remarkable sculpture is therefore placed by Rawlinson at about 516 B.C., when, after quelling rebellions in different parts of his kingdom, Darius enjoyed a short peace. While, in general, the order and arrange-

ment remind us of Assyrian reliefs, still we note much in the style of this sculpture that is different. Especially in the garments of the king and attendants, there is an attempt at rendering the folds of full, flowing drapery, which is well illustrated by a figure from Persepolis (Fig. 55), but is never found in Assyrian sculpture. Although the hair is carefully curled, and the beard well laid; yet that reduction of every detail to ornament, carried in Assyria to an absurd extreme, has here given place to greater simplicity and naturalness.

It has been questioned whether these excellences are due to a spontaneous development among the Persians. It is more probable that they are the result of earlier Greek influence from Asia Minor, and that, as the Persians never arose above eclecticism in their art, they were greatly influenced by this rapidly growing Greek art, with which they must have come into close and direct contact after the conquest of Lydia. That Darius copied the Græco-Lybian coinage

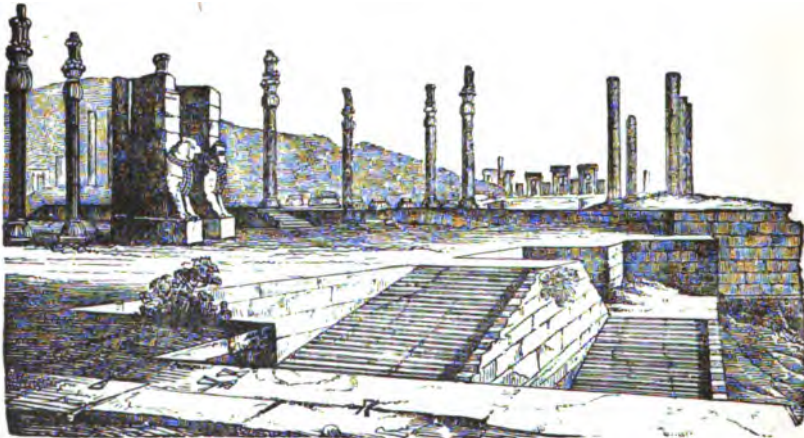


Fig. 56. Ruins of the Palace of Persepolis.

is a good proof of the influence of Greek culture at this early day upon Persia.

On the mountain-fringed plain of Merdascht are the monuments which teach us most about the ancient Persian sculptors. There, on a broad plain of natural rock, once made more complete with masonry, stand the ruined palaces of Persepolis, now called Takhti-Djemschid, throne of Djemschid, or, sometimes, Tchihil-minai (forty columns) (Fig. 56). On this plateau, accessible on one side by a majestic stairway, are still to be seen ruins of stately buildings, all constructed during the short but brilliant reigns of Darius and Xerxes.

Ascending the stairway, we should come upon a stately portal structure guarded in front by bulls of natural shape, and within by human-headed winged ones, suggesting at once Assyrian portal-figures, but varying from them in detail. The wings of the human-headed monster arch upward; and the front legs of all project, giving them a more unquiet look than those of Assyria. Columns with strange sculptured capitals go with these bulls to make up the entrance to the dwelling of the kings. To the right of this portal lie the

different palaces, large and small, and, still farther on, another fragmentary bull-portal. In all these palaces, however, we should find that only the approach by the grand steps, and the passage-ways leading to the interior, were decorated with sculptures. There is a moderation in the use of sculptural adornment here which is grateful to the eye, and in better taste than the lavishness of Assyrian palaces. Great labor was spent upon the facings of the double stairway, not, however, appearing in the cut. Guards, arranged in military order, carry their weapons, as though standing on perpetual watch at the palace entrance. Bearers of tribute are also seen toiling up the sides of the steps, or marching along the wall facing the landings. They bring with them choice vases and rings, or lead along their small horses harnessed to curiously wheeled chariots. A fierce combat between a lion and bull fills up the two corners of the landing; and the remainder is filled by long blocks of inscriptions, well divided off, and guarded by watchmen in long, attentive rows. It is noteworthy, that nowhere, as in Assyrian monuments, do the inscriptions interfere with the carvings. The palace-walls, doubtless built of sun-dried bricks, have long since gone to ruin; but the casings of doors and windows, cut from the dark rock of the neighboring mountains, still stand, as well as many fragmentary pillars with their elaborate capitals. Lining each side of the doorways, but not continuing beyond them, are sculptural decorations, in which we find a few scenes continually repeated. At the outer passages, guards appropriately stand on watch, holding long lances: at other entrances the king himself is repeated, fighting a lion, a bull, or a scorpion-tailed, eagle-clawed monster, whom the monarch holds by the hair of the head while plunging a short dagger into his entrails (Fig. 57). This composition seems an enlargement of combats repeatedly seen on small Chaldæan cylinders; the details of drapery and head-dress alone being varied to suit the new nationality, the garments falling in folds approaching nature. Beardless youths appear at a few entrances, bringing a towel, a square basket, and that conical-shaped



Fig. 57. King slaying Monster. Portal Relief. Persepolis.

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object figuring so often in Assyrian monuments. Frequently the king is carved in the passage-way, robed in rich folds, daintily carrying a lotos, and protected often by two smaller attendants, one holding an elaborate umbrella, the other a handkerchief or the fly-flap, likewise seen in Assyrian sculptures. Sometimes the attendant simply carries a lotos-bud (Fig. 55). Usually these reliefs of the doorways do not cover the surface of the wall, but have a large vacant space below the strange Egyptian cornice at the top. This partial application of sculpture is, however, varied by one far more complete at the



Fig. 58. Façade of the Tomb of Darius. Murghab.

four grand entrances of the "Great Hall of Xerxes." Here the whole side is occupied by a representation of the king on his lofty throne. In one case the seat rests on the outstretched hands of several tiers of tributary people, representing the lands given to the king by the god. In another case the throne-seat rests on rows of guards in different costumes. These thrones seem derived from less elaborate ones, met with in Assyrian monuments; and this motive of bearing the throne may doubtless be traced back to actual customs in the Orient, where large hangings were held up by servants around a holy place during certain ceremonial services.¹³⁴ The tenacity of these old customs is illustrated by a scene which took place in Southampton in 1856, when

the Queen of Oude visited England. In order to shield her majesty from the profane gaze of the curious English public, a double row of eunuchs formed, and, with the immobility of statues, held outstretched gorgeous shawls and carpets until the ladies had safely passed from their closed carriages. Above the throne at Persepolis, we see an elaborate tasselled canopy, its front decorated with a straight line of lions and bulls. The human-headed, winged Assyrian disk floats above the king; but it is clad with the Persian head-dress, — has become the Persians' *Feroher*.

In the mountain side at Persepolis are several royal tombs carved into the rock, their façades decorated in relief with thrones similar to the one described above. Here, on the tomb of Darius, the king stands, and worships the spirit of light — Ormuzd — before an altar where fire burns (Fig. 58). This scene, so worthy to appear over the entrance to the tomb, is supported by those strange sculptured capitals, only met with in Persian architecture, where ~~two~~ bulls or lions kneel as if forced to bear the weight above them, their fronts alone protruding from under the heavy weight. Subject-peoples hold up the platform on which the monarch stands engaged in worship.

Looking at what exists of ancient Persian sculpture, we find, besides these ~~strange capitals~~, almost nothing which may be called strictly Persian. The subjects treated by sculptors are strikingly like those in Assyria, although far less warlike and bloody. It is possible, however, that we know but a small part of what the Persian sculptor produced, and are, therefore, not justified in forming a final opinion as to his abilities. After having yielded to influences from all sides, art seems, at last, to have come to a standstill; the sculptures added by Artaxerxes Ochus (362–338 B.C.) being exactly the same as those of the time of Xerxes, more than a hundred years earlier, as will appear on comparing Stolze's plates in Nöldeke's "Persepolis."

After the subjection of the Persians to Alexander, their artistic activities seem to have been exhausted. At a very late date, under the new Sassanid rule (240 A.D.), Persia regains her political glory, but her numerous sculptures now carved on mountain side in vast reliefs have lost all nobility: the compositions are confused, and the figures excessively inane, reminding one strongly of the flabby forms of modern Persian painting. The sole interest for us in these late works is of a purely historical kind, their puerile barbarism being only an illustration of national and artistic deterioration.

CHAPTER VIII.

PHœNICIA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

Phœnicia. — Its Religion. — Goddess Mylitta. — Astarte. — The Phœnicians. — Spread of Trade and Position in Art. — Renan's Discoveries. — Imitations of Egypt and Assyria. — Tomb at Amrith. — Arados Relief. — Phœnician Griffin. — The Minor Arts. — Ivory Relief at Nimroud. — Sites where Phœnician Wares were Found. — Silver Bowl from Palestrina. — Chiusi Bowl. — Lack of Progress. — Cyprus. — Occupied by Phœnicians and Greeks. — Influence of Egypt and Assyria. — Mingling of Worship of Baal and Astarte with Greek Gods. — Discovery of Remains. — Rudeness of Material used for Statuary. — Lack of Bronze Figures. — Metallic Bowls. — Silver Bowl in Metropolitan Museum. — Frequency of Portrait Statues. — Representations of Deity. — Egyptian Types. — Heracles. — Figure combining Forms of Man, Lion, and Bird. — Frequency of Female Figures. — Their Character. — Funereal Monuments. — General Character of Cypriote Art. — Cypriote Type. — Age of Cypriote Statuary.

As Babylonian art with its Assyrian and Persian heirs held sway in the interior of Asia ; so still another and peculiar branch of this hoary brotherhood appeared in the West, on the shores of the Mediterranean. Here the Phœnicians had their home ; their principal cities, Sidon, Tyre, Byblos, Marathos, and Arados, rising on promontories jutting out into the sea, or on islands nestling by the shore. The Phœnicians are thought to have settled in their territory between Lebanon and the Mediterranean as early as 2500 B.C., and, according to various traditions, were Semitic tribes who had wandered thither from that home of early civilization, the lowlands bordering the shores of the Persian Gulf.

Their religion seems to have been the offspring of Babylon, but of more elaborated character. They worshipped a sun-god, whose power was sometimes destructive, and sometimes beneficent. As Baal Melkart, he was especially honored in Tyre ; through his repeated labors and journeyings, he was supposed to free the world from evil : and the ideal of a wandering hero was developed, which should doubtless furnish the Greeks with many features, applied by them to their Heracles.

But, as with most Semitic deities, there was a female half to Baal, evidently a variation on the Babylonian Mylitta. She was known in different parts by different names, — Baaltis, Derketo, Atargatis, — and was the goddess of fruitfulness, her rites being those of the shocking Mylitta cult of Babylon. Maidens served her with their bodies ; and the ram, dove, and fish, animals of intense sexual life and productiveness, were sacred to her. At Hierapolis, the figure of

Atargatis had a dove on its head : at Askalon, Derketo was half-female, half-fish, in her form. Of her many loves, the most celebrated was Tammuz, whom the Greeks made Adonis. For him, when slain, her Syrian worshippers mourned with loud wailings ; and, when he lived again, his coming to life was celebrated with equal excess.

The other side of this goddess's character, standing for the destructive elements in nature, was worshipped under the name Astarte, a stern virgin, bent on war, and associated with the moon. To this goddess human offerings were made ; youths and maidens being sacrificed to her, as they were to her male counterpart, Moloch. As the Syrians interpreted the worship of the goddess of fruitfulness according to their conception of her character, by giving full license to lust ; so they interpreted the contrary character of Astarte, by killing out all natural feeling, the most acceptable offering to her being emasculation on the part of her priests and devotees.

Besides uniting thus in one deity these opposite characteristics, in which sexual and ascetic elements were pronounced, the Phœnicians also combined in one of their deities the male and female natures in a being of androgynous character. At Carthage, Dido Astarte was to be seen with Melkart's beard ; and, at certain feasts of Baal, the priests and worshippers of the androgynous god appeared in reddish transparent garments of women ; while the women, in male attire, carried swords and lances.¹³⁵ This strange religion, carried by the Phœnicians wherever they went, was, moreover, mingled with a most appalling cruelty and bloodshed, altogether strange to the religions of the Aryan race, as mirrored in its earliest existing sacred books, the Rig-Veda of the Hindoos in India, and the Avesta of the Parsees in Iran. With such barbarous conceptions of their deities on the part of the Phœnicians, it is not strange that they never succeeded in giving their idols grace and beauty, and that these always remained hideous symbols.

The land of the Phœnicians was small, a mere ribbon of rock and soil, girding the base of Lebanon, and washed by the restless sea. Although fertile, this territory was so limited in extent, that the cultivation of the soil alone could not support the dense and growing population, who were therefore compelled to resort to commerce, both by sea and land. Phœnician civilization became, in consequence, eminently commercial in character, a fact which is of prime importance in considering the art of this people, especially in its relations to that of the other nations of antiquity. At first we meet them as an adventurous fisher-folk, — the name of their oldest city, Sidon, signifying "fishery," — and see them gathering in the shells lining their coasts, from which they extracted a liquid of unrivalled brilliancy for dyeing purposes.^{135a} But, besides possessing such wealth in the sea, their land was rich in metals and timber ; its cedars were sought far and wide ; and, at a very early date, we learn of this people travelling with their wares to distant lands, and bringing back

foreign products, to be distributed, in turn, to a still wider public. Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt required oil and wine for their population; metals, skins, and finely dyed wools, for their home manufacture; and timber for building ships, rafts, and even houses. At first the Phœnicians seem to have been the mediators of this traffic only among the neighboring countries on the Euphrates and Nile; but in time their trade spread to the coast-lands and islands of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, as well as of the Indian Ocean. In oldest Bible story, Abraham has dealings with these ancient barterers, buying of them his slaves.¹³⁶ At a later day King Solomon built for them caravansaries, in order to facilitate their wealth-bringing traffic. The laden caravan toiling across the Syrian desert, between the cities of Mesopotamia and the Phœnician seacoast, seems to have been no uncommon sight, even before 1600 B.C., by which time the weights and measures of Babylon had been adopted by these Phœnician traders. From the far East, we learn, they brought Babylonian weavings and embroidered garments, as well as fine ointments, frankincense, myrrh, and precious stones.¹³⁷ For the varied merchandise of Egypt, —linens, papyrus, glass-wares, cut stones, ornaments, and medicines,—the Phœnicians likewise found a ready market. How early their Egyptian traffic commenced, we cannot tell: but Seti I. felled cedars on Lebanon about 1400 B.C.; and it is probable, that long before, while the Asiatic Hyksos had control of Egypt, the sea-faring Phœnicians had dealings with the people of the Nile. As early as 1100 B.C. their ships had ventured in the west to Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, the Kyclades, and even to the coasts of Greece and Italy. These crafty sailor-merchants took with them brilliantly dyed stuffs, tempting articles of personal adornment, as well as figures of their gods; but the great staple of their trade was the unhappy slave, whom they obtained either by strategy or force, thus winning for themselves a most unenviable reputation among the nations of the Mediterranean. At first their many-oared and gayly-sailed ships seem to have carried on only an itinerant trade, the wily tradesmen from afar spreading out on the shores their wares, to tempt the inhabitants of the seacoasts, or, as the "Odyssey" tells us, cruising about for a short time among the Kyclades, driving sharp barter until their cargo was complete, and then setting sail.¹³⁸ But in time, as their commerce increased, permanent trading-stations and industrial centres were doubtless required, which should serve as corresponding houses with the Phœnician cities, and as a protection to their growing trade. Out of these colonies, which sprang up especially where mines were to be worked, and shells were to be found, there sometimes grew cities like Carthage, which retained the distinctive character of the mother-land, and vied with it in importance. Such Phœnician settlements existed in Cyprus, Melos, Thera, Samothrake, and Eubœia; and on the mainland of Greece, Thebes, Corinth, Marathon, and many other places, had intimate connection with this ancient Semitic people.

From existing monuments and the records of history, it is evident that the familiarity of the Phœnicians with products of Egypt and Babylon exercised great influence on their art. Thus Solomon's temple, the work of Phœnicians, seems to have been in its plan Egyptian, but Assyrian in plastic decoration.¹³⁹ Moreover, their extensive trade could not fail to develop the industrial arts. Solomon ordered rare objects of Hiram, king of Tyre, and gave hire to his servants, who executed them according to all that Hiram appointed.¹⁴⁰ Had we records of the business relations of this ancient people, we should doubtless find, that for other lands likewise they made art-objects for sale.

The excavations of M. Renan on Phœnician soil yielded very few sculptured monuments, but in all these the influence of foreign art was evident. Egyptian forms were most frequently met with, such as the winged disk, decorating the entrance to ruined temples, and the sarcophagi in the form of the Egyptian mummy-cases.¹⁴¹ These latter are covered by a slab in imitation of the mummy in its shroud, out of which the head, and occasionally the hands, appear. A number of these Phœnician sarcophagi were discovered on various sites, and are now in the Louvre. One is executed in the stone of the country; but the remainder are in marble, which must have been imported for the purpose. Sarcophagi of the same style have been discovered on many different sites where Phœnicians settled, as in Cyprus, Sicily, Malta, and Corsica. One, discovered at Palermo, was painted in imitation of cloth, a strange and meaningless addition to stone, but evidently intended to imitate the mummy-wraps of Egypt. The rendering of the faces on these sarcophagi varies; but the far greater part show the influence of Greek art, and consequently must belong to a comparatively late date, as is also indicated by the style of the graves where they were discovered.

Half-lions, in coarse native stone, which decorated a grave at Amrith, the ancient Marathos, show a remote resemblance to Assyrian motives, but are so rudely blocked out, and left so unfinished, that it is difficult to judge of their artistic affinities (Fig. 59).

On the island of Arados, off the Phœnician coast, M. Renan discovered a very characteristic and interesting subject, a part of which is given in Fig. 60. Here, carved in very low relief, are two winged griffins, standing, one on each side of a sacred tree, and tasting, as it seems, of its fruit. This tree is made up entirely of motives borrowed from Egypt; and its spreading part is repeated in symmetrical regularity above this griffin relief, in imitation, as it were, of rich hangings. The forms of these griffins, as Furtwängler's comparison has shown, are the same as those decorating utensils and ornaments on Egyptian monuments of as early an age as that of Thothmes III.¹⁴² From the hieroglyphics, however, accompanying such representations in Egypt, it seems clear that the vessels ornamented with this griffin with closed beak were the work of Phœnicians imported into Egypt. These griffins re-appear

in the same form and pose on the silver bowls found in Cyprus, and the fact that we have them in stone from Phoenicia itself seems to make certain their Phœnician origin. The combination of a bird-form resembling peacock and crane with a lion is skilful, and the decorative effect produced agreeable: still, their elements are not fully moulded into an organic whole, and the pre-eminently decorative character is almost too prominent. The significance of these Phœnician griffins lies in the fact, that they are the patterns found copied in very old wares on Greek soil, and there improved upon in later

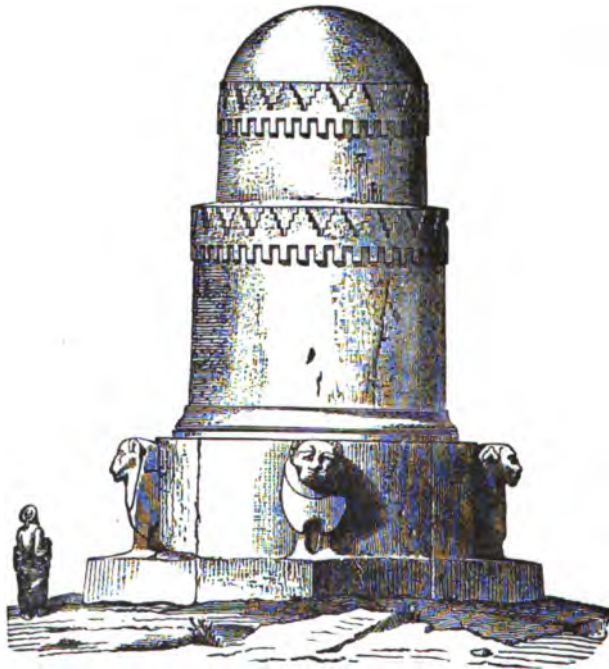


Fig. 59. Lion-tomb at Amrith (restored).

works, until this original inspiration is cast entirely in the shade by that to which it gave birth.

The great significance of Phœnician art lies, not in the scanty sculptures preserved to us, but in a world of minor art, which recent excavation has opened up, showing the intensely mongrel character of Phœnician fancy, ready to borrow wherever it went, and, unlike Egyptian art, impressed by every new tide of influence. These objects—humble scraps of ivory carvings, which once decorated some choice utensil; bronze and silver bowls; standards for lights, calling to mind the golden candlesticks of the Jewish temple; curious shaped bottles for unguents; large bronze caldrons, and ostrich eggs—are all carved with strange devices, in which Egyptian elements are found incongruously mixed up with Assyrian motives, and are all rendered in a lax and puffy manner, quite different from the severer treatment of either genuine

Egyptian or Assyrian work. Such objects were found in the ruins of Nimroud in Assyria in large quantities, and are now in the British Museum. A few fragments of ivory carving, once evidently used for incrusting some coarser material, doubtless pieces of wooden furniture (Fig. 61), are strongly Egyptian in subject and form, but lack altogether the vigor and decision so admirable in genuine Egyptian works. This mode of using ivory will call to mind at once the thrones, etc., made for the Jews by the Phœnicians, and described in the Bible.¹⁴³ On Italian soil very many products of this peculiar mongrel art, in one case accompanied by a Phœnician inscription, have been found in the older graves, dating, as Helbig has shown, from the seventh century B.C.¹⁴⁴ Thus, in the celebrated Regulini Galassi tomb at Cervetri, the so-called Grotta d'Iside at Vulci, in tombs at Veio, Palestrina, Poggio alla Sala, Sovana, and from the plain near Salerno, ivory carvings, bronze incrustations, and bowls of silver and meaner metal, have been discovered in large quantities.¹⁴⁵

These bowls of silver and bronze now form a large family, nineteen of them being known.¹⁴⁶ A group of them was found at Palestrina in 1876, and the fact that one bore Phœnician inscriptions establishes the theory that their peculiar art is Phœnician. The technique is a simple one; the figures being beaten out in the pliable metal so as to be slightly raised, their surface finished by the graver's tool.

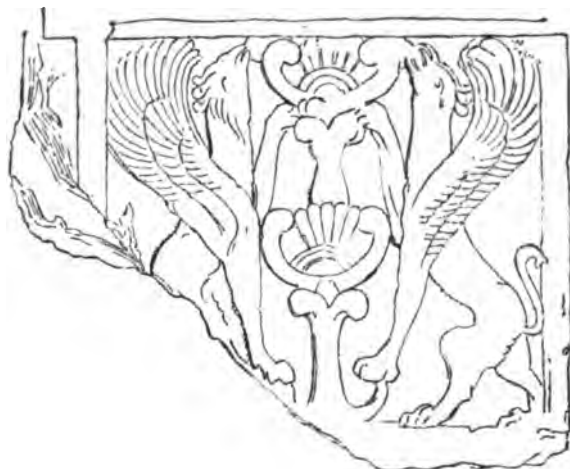


Fig. 60. Relief with Griffins from Arados. Louvre.

One of these bowls in silver discovered at Palestrina, but now in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome, and beautifully preserved, well illustrates the technique and mongrel forms of this art (Fig. 62). In the centre is a scene where the long, thin forms, the costumes and hair arrangement, of conqueror and conquered, call to mind the scenes on Egyptian reliefs; the hairy dogs biting the heels of the unhappy fallen, adding an element of brutal fierceness to the conflict. Outside of this scene prance well-framed horses, used in a strictly decorative scheme; each high-stepping steed being the exact repetition of his neighbor, excepting where a part of a member is carelessly omitted. Above them, arranged with like regularity, fly birds. But the outer row presents the most of interest. Here the main part of the circle is occupied with the hunt of long-horned deer and huge monkeys. We first see hunters, who

wear the Assyrian pointed cap, and are protected by an umbrella, start out in chariots from a fortification with battlements. Out of the first chariot the hunter has dismounted, and, kneeling, shoots at a frightened deer just leaping off of the curious mountain in front. Before a second mighty hunter on the mountain summit, a second deer flies; while, beyond, the hostler feeds the wearied horses, and a fourth hunter cuts up the prey suspended from a tree. In all this scene, there is no sign of religious symbolism or protecting deity. But behind the last-named hunter follows clearly a religious rite. Here an altar burns; over it hovers the winged disk of Egyptian art; before it is a standard, bearing, no doubt, a vase of liquid offering; and in front sits a worshipper, — one of those grandees protected by the umbrella, familiar to us from Assyrian reliefs. A mountain, from the side of which a mammoth mask spouts water, and on the summit of which a deer quietly grazes, and a hare leaps, separates this scene from the tumult that follows. There a curious winged being holds in its protecting arms the royal chariot (similar in form to that occurring in Assyria), safely out of reach of the huge, hairy beast below, who seems to be hurling a stone. The next chariot has run down one of these beasts, and another is stamped upon by a hunter. Another hunter seems to be aiming at the large bird, in form like the sacred hawk of Egypt, floating above. Around the whole scene a scaly serpent coils its length. Here we have, then, older Assyrian and Egyptian elements heterogeneously thrown together; but, of these, neither the full, puffy style of the one, nor the severely stern style of the other, seem followed in this mimicking art.

On Greek soil also, but more sparingly, and on a few of the islands, objects of a kindred character have been found. So the ancient tombs at Menidi and Spata in Attica, the sacred *altis* at Olympia, the island of Rhodes, and, more than all, Cyprus, have yielded objects which are decidedly Phœnician in type.¹⁴⁷

These varied objects, especially in Italy and the islands, have been found frequently with genuine Egyptian works, such as small *shabti*, inscribed scarabs, vases, and the like, showing that where the Phœnicians carried their own wares, whether from their cities, Tyre and Sidon, in the mother-land, or from her proud colonies, such as Carthage, there they introduced likewise the work of other countries. These latter are of greatest importance, by way of comparison, in deciding the age of the Phœnician works with which they are found.

But, besides the objects of whose Phœnician or Egyptian origin there can be no doubt, there are very many which seem imitations only of such Phœnician samples, often rude variations on them, and recognizable from their material, peculiar to the country where they are found; from their subjects, foreign to Phœnician wares; and frequently from a greater crudity of style.¹⁴⁸

Such an object was found at Chiusi, a highly interesting but very puzzling bit of ivory carving, with mythical subjects so purely Greek that it is difficult to imagine it the product of Phœnician carving, even though the style undoubtedly resembles Phœnician work.¹⁴⁹ Here are to be seen male and female centaurs, Odysseus under the ram as being carried out from Polyphemus' cave, as well as his adventure with the sirens,—all themes sung first by the epic poets of Ionia. Although found in Chiusi in Etruria, there is little doubt that this remarkable carving is an imported article. Some authorities hold the opinion, that it is the work of very early Ionian carvers, who, although imitating the style of the Phœnicians, from whom they had received the ivory, gave expression to their own national myths. Comparison and further discoveries in Asia-Minor soil will, no doubt, give us the key to this most interesting problem.

In the few well-certified and widely scattered extant Phœnician monuments, it is impossible to trace any development or steady growth. The scanty remains possess little intrinsic significance; and their main interest lies in the fact, that through the Phœnicians, the art-forms, and especially the technique, of older civilizations, were communicated by trade to the younger and artistically more gifted people of other lands.



Fig. 61. Relief in ivory from Nimroud. British Museum.

Turning from the Phœnician coast westward, we find that Phœnician art, scattered through the Mediterranean coast-lands, everywhere shows, as in Phœnicia itself, a lack of vigor and originality, being mainly a feeble reflex of that with which it came in contact. Such remains have been found in Sardinia, Sicily, and elsewhere; but nowhere do they seem more abundant than in Cyprus, whose position near the Phœnician coast must have strengthened its relationship to the mother-land.

The mountain ranges of Cyprus must have early offered a tempting goal to the Phœnicians, who, looking from the slopes of Lebanon across the sea, could descry their purple lines skirting the horizon. The dense forests and copper mines, so rich as to give the island its name, could not fail to tempt these conquerors; and we learn, that, as early as the middle of the thirteenth century B.C.,¹⁵⁰ they settled Cyprus, to hold it until the Greeks should come in the ninth century to share its possession. From that time the two nationalities seem to have occupied the island in common, exercising a reciprocal influence. The influence of Egypt and Assyria must also have been felt in Cyprus, since the island at times paid tribute to these great powers. When the Thothmes and Rameses conquered Syria, it is evident from hieroglyphics, that Cyprus also came into political connection with the Nile valley. Later, when Assyria gained the ascendancy, Cypriote princes paid tribute to the Assyrian

Sargon and Sennacherib. The former, who reigned from 722–705 B.C., set up in the conquered island a portrait monument of himself, carved in low relief on a slab of dark stone, and accompanied by peculiar explanatory arrow-head inscriptions. This relic of Sargon's power in Cyprus was brought to Germany by Ross, and may now be seen in the Berlin Museum. The continued intermixture of so many races, as well as the varying political fortunes of the island, may doubtless, in part, explain the unpleasant mongrel character of nearly every thing Cypriote, even down to a late date, whether it be in art or religion.

According to Greek myth, Belos, the Phœnician Baal, conquered the island; and at Kition, in Cyprus, by the Shemites called Chittim, his worship seems to have prevailed. At Amathus were worshipped Astarte and Tammuz, to become in time the Greek Aphrodite and Adonis; although it was especially at Paphos that the worship of the Oriental Astarte merged into that of the Greek Aphrodite. The lion-strangler and sun-god of Phœnician faith, Melkart, became often the Greek Heracles; and possibly out of the monstrous Moloch grew some phases of the Zeus and Cronos myths. But out of this tangled Cypriote mythology, and the accounts by the ancients of the shocking rites there prevailing, we gain little satisfactory light for an understanding of the sculptured monuments.

Attention was first drawn to Cypriote sculptures by the German archæologist, Ross, who about 1840 brought to Berlin many figures and heads in terra-cotta and stone, collected in a hasty trip through the island, and like those afterwards discovered on different sites, or otherwise collected in great numbers by the British consul Lang and the brothers Cesnola. Unfortunately no exact records of the discovery of the remains now in New York appear to have been kept; what was found in temple and tomb not having been held scrupulously apart, nor the localities accurately given. Restorations, carried out at different times, have increased the confusion already existing, and rendered still more difficult a correct judgment of the majority of these monuments.^{150a}

The lack of a suitable material in which to express plastic forms, doubtless affected seriously the art of the island, adding its share to the difficulties of race, etc., with which the provincial school had to contend. Marble, so admirably fitted for sculpture, is not found on the island, the few marbles discovered doubtless having been imported. The coarse, soft limestone which abounds is of so crumbling a grain as to be unsuited for fine carving; and its porousness makes it a ready prey to moisture and breakage. In consequence, the surface of statues is rarely found well finished or uninjured. To this inferior character of the stone may doubtless also be attributed much of the stiffness, and lack of motion, prevalent in Cypriote statuary, even when belonging to an advanced age. Traces of color are found on many of these remains; but, as in the ma-

jority of cases this has disappeared, it is impossible to judge what principles guided the artists in their choice of hues.

Although the island was rich in metal, and bowls of silver, and jewellery of gold, have been brought to light; yet bronze figures or their fragments are scarcely ever met with. This circumstance seems to prove that the art of



Fig. 62. Silver Bowl discovered at Palestrina. Rome.

bronze casting was less practised in Cyprus than in Etruria, a land whose art offers many resemblances to these Cypriote remains, especially in its lack of style.

The metallic bowls have all the characteristics of what is believed to be Phœnician strongly pronounced (p. 115), and have been found scattered far beyond the limits of Cyprus, where they were probably executed. They have been found in Italy and Greece, and are thought to belong to the seventh and sixth cen-

turies B.C.¹⁵¹ Bowls of this class in the Louvre, the Metropolitan Museum, Athens, and in different Italian collections, show a strange mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian motives, in combination with more natural forms, which are, however, thrown heterogeneously together. A deeper meaning drawn from Phœnician mythology is not likely to exist in these objects; and we are struck by the freedom with which foreign sacred symbols are arbitrarily borrowed, combined, and applied for purposes of decoration.

A silver bowl in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, said to have been discovered at Curium, in Cyprus, with a design in concentric circles, well illustrates this ruling tendency. In the centre is a winged figure stabbing a lion, — a subject frequently met with on Assyrian and Babylonian seals, but here varied by the addition of colossal wings, which are likewise Assyrian in origin. About this scene float two birds, clearly taken from Egyptian art. Surrounding this centre-piece, motives from nature, a horse browsing, two bulls bucking, and a cow suckling her calf, are combined with others, clearly Egyptian, such as a reclining sphinx wearing the royal *pschent*, and a kneeling Egyptian archer attacking a lion. This mixture of forms is still more apparent in the outer circle of this elaborate bowl. Here a sacred tree, made up of Egyptian motives, is the centre of many different scenes. At one time Isis, strangely enough wearing huge wings, holds up the lotos-blossom towards the tree; again, two winged sphinxes, half rampant, seem to be smelling of its half-blown buds; still again, griffins pick at its spreading summit, or horned goats mount it on either side, calling to mind similar scenes on the borders of Assyrian robes. In one row is a genuine Egyptian scene: a king, swinging high his weapon, threatens to strike off the many heads of his fallen enemies, whose scalp-locks he holds in his hand; while hawk-headed Horus stands by, and encourages him in the act. Although the devices are curious, and the mastery of the material is commendable, the metal being made to obey the silversmiths' tools, both in the original hammering out of the surface to represent the raised figures, and in the final painstaking finish; yet how unsatisfactory this transparently eclectic art, to those seeking for creations moulded by an originating fancy!

Turning our attention to statuary from Cyprus, we find, in looking over the large monuments, that portrait figures occupy the foreground, representations of gods and heroes being usually small and comparatively few. These portrait figures, one of which is represented according to Doell's publication (Fig. 63), doubtless represent worshippers, who always quietly stand, and frequently bear some gift by which to win the favor of deity. These worshippers bearing gifts are a peculiarly Semitic motive, rarely met with in purely Hellenic art.¹⁵² It is certainly interesting to notice, that this feature continually asserts itself in Cypriote art; the presentation of a portrait statue with its gift always being a favorite mode of approaching deity among the conservative

islanders, even after they had become thoroughly acquainted with the Greek modes and spirit. Such portrait statues make up the larger part of the Cypriote statuary in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, whether crude and barbarous, or more advanced in style.

In addition, Cypriote art offers a few representations of deity. Among these, we see a human figure with a ram's head, which, like the hawk-headed deities, point to Egypt as a land from which the Cypriotes borrowed. Heracles, so important in original Phœnician myth as Melkart, is also met with in large as well as small figures. In one colossal statue, discovered at Amathus, and now in Constantinople, this semi-Oriental hero clasps to his side a lion of disproportionately small size.¹⁵³

There is in the Metropolitan Museum, No. 156 (Fig. 64), a most unique combination, worthy of notice, which is said to have been untouched by modern restoration, and doubtless had to the Cypriotes of old a religious significance now impossible to divine. Here we see, carved apparently from a single block of coarse limestone, a bearded man, with wings starting from his chest, and a true lion, this monument not exceeding seventy-six centimeters (two and one-half feet) in height. The man wears what seems to be the double crown of Egypt, and stands back to back to the lion, who looks in the opposite direction, with ears erect, and showing his grim teeth. This fabulous combination seems remotely to suggest Assyrian portal monsters, but has Egyptian additions, and native Cypriote features.

Female figures in Cypriote art are very frequent, often holding with the right hand a blossom to the breast, and with the left raising the drapery. By many, this frequently recurring female figure is thought to represent Aphrodite; but by others it is supposed to be simply a worshipper.¹⁵⁴ Certain well-developed female heads, wearing high mural crowns, may represent the genius of some city; but the crown doubtless points to the fact, that the idea of this goddess was borrowed from Asia Minor, where similar mural coronets appear in very ancient rock sculptures of Capadokia; a similar head adornment being likewise seen on coins with the effigy of the Ephesian Artemis.



Fig. 63. Portrait Statue of Cypriote Worshipper.

Monuments, whose purpose is unquestionably funereal, have also been found in large numbers. Of these the most important are sarcophagi. Some are servile imitations of the Egyptian mummy-case, like those found in Phœnicia, and its other colonies. More interesting, however, are the sarcophagi in imitation of a long building. The lid has the shape of a sloping roof, with a pediment at either end, on whose corners sphinxes or lions recline. Reliefs adorn the sides; having reference, doubtless, to rites in honor of the dead, or representing duties concerned with the departed.

In mustering now this array of sculptures, we find that the statue carved fully in the round was never acclimatized in Cyprus; the backs of all the figures being left flat, and in the rough. The spirit which permitted this neglect, as well as the superficial treatment of the body as compared with the head, is far different from that which appears in even the oldest extant Greek statues, such as the so-called Apollo from Bœotia (p. 213), and the one from Tenea. In the latter, the backs are as fully modelled as the front, and the body more carefully studied even than the face.



Fig. 64. Man, Lion, and Bird
Monster found in Cyprus.
New York.

Cypriote statuary may be roughly divided into two great classes,—the ruder and more primitive corresponding, apparently, to the predominance of Phœnician elements in the island; and the more developed, to the influence of the Greeks, who, however, never succeeded in remoulding the old into any thing better than a very second-rate provincial art. Many of the cruder statues, which may, in general, be termed Phœnician, wear garments which are evidently copied from Egypt, such as the peculiar *klaft*, or head-dress, the broad breast-collar, and kilt worn about the hips, its front frequently ornamented with asps, which on the Nile indicated royalty, but here are not readily explained. Still another close imitation of Egypt is to be noticed in the skin worn by several figures, and common in Egypt for priests. The summariness of treatment in all these crude statues, the sketchiness in rendering form, hair, beard, and clothing, as well as the advancement of the left foot in those not heavily draped, likewise call directly to mind Egyptian motives, and make it evident that these islanders were strongly under the influence of the hoary civilization of the Nile, without attaining in their works any of its dignity, or severe artistic spirit.

Other figures wear a strange conical cap, which at first sight calls to mind helmets seen on Assyrian reliefs. Many of these caps are, however, clearly imitations of knitted stuffs, and hence cannot be accoutrements of war, but, doubtless, a head-dress of the country, such as is said still to be worn in Cyprus. The beards of these figures in conical caps, and their long, plain drapery, have also been likened to Assyrian sculpture; but the resemblance is

remote.¹⁵⁵ There is throughout a marked neglect of those decorative details which, as we have seen, were essentials to the Assyrian sculptors.

In all these crude figures, the native sculptor seems to be struggling to render a peculiar type, although hampered by conventionality and his crude material. This "Cypriote type" is marked by a retreating forehead, projecting nose, large, protruding eyes, a pointed chin and beard, and a small, peaked mouth, whose corners seem drawn up in a perpetual smile, partly by reason of the pronounced cheek-bones. In statues where the improving Greek influence is perceptible, the face becomes milder, but seldom gains any true beauty or vigor of feature; and the form, although somewhat more carefully rendered, seems, as with the Etruscan artist, always to be considered a very secondary matter.¹⁵⁶ The drapery, indeed, receives a few parallel folds; and the attempt to render its surface is evident: but, on comparison with genuine Greek drapery, that of Cyprus is a feeble mimicry; and, even in statues of very late date, the representation of the Roman toga is a caricature of that dignified and graceful garment.

The question as to the age of Cypriote statues is open to much discussion. Those having Egyptian garments have been conjecturally placed as far back as between 1600 and 1000 B.C., when Egypt controlled the East: those supposed to be clothed in Assyrian style are assigned by some to the period between 1000 and 500 B.C., when Assyria and Babylon held sway. The remainder fall into the period extending from 500 B.C., when Greek customs came to prevail, down to the fall of the Roman empire. A comparison of the more primitive statues with one another and with Egyptian monuments does not, however, confirm this broad chronology; and it seems far more probable, that even what has an Egyptian tinge belongs to a late date, the style of the head-dress being like that worn by Egyptians in Psammetichos' time, and not earlier. To the Athenians of Æschylos' time, twenty-five years after the close of the Persian war, when a Pheidias and a Myron were working in Athens, the word "Cypriote" seems to have stood for what was Egyptian in appearance, as may be gathered from a short passage in Æschylos.¹⁵⁷ This hint at the stiffness and ungainliness of the Cypriote style at that late date confirms the theory, that Cypriote sculptures are not of a hoary antiquity, but the works of a comparatively late and backward school. The discovery at Salamis, by Ohnefalsch-Richter, of objects, apparently of great antiquity, in juxtaposition with coins of the Roman age, shows clearly that the reproduction of ancient forms was there kept up to latest times.¹⁵⁷

CHAPTER IX.

THE EARLIEST MONUMENTS IN ASIA MINOR.

Asia Minor. — Its Inhabitants. — Religion. — Earliest Art. — Affinities with that of Babylonia and Egypt. — Smaller Objects found. — Oldest Monuments with Hieroglyphics. — Cappadokia. — Ruins of Boghaz Keui. — Ruins at Euyuk. — Ruins at Ghiaour Kalessi. — Ruins at Karabel. — Figures called Egyptian by Herodotos. — Carvings on Mount Sipylus. — Ancient Niobe. — Figure discovered by Mr. Ramsay. — Hittite Art found at Ghurun, Alexandretta, on the Southern Coast, and Inland. — Distinctive Characteristics of this Art. — Conjectures of Sayce. — Phrygian Sculptures in Asia Minor. — Lions at Ayazeen.

THE mountainous table-lands of Asia Minor have been from time immemorial the arena where nations have come and gone. The monuments left by these ancient civilizations, besides their intrinsic interest, are important as throwing light on the courses pursued by Oriental culture, as, passing through various modifications, it travelled from the valley of the Tigris to the Greek world.

The peninsula is crossed on the south by the snowy range of the Tauros; the rocky and abrupt southern shores being broken by poor harbors, and interspersed with small, fruitful plains. The central table-lands, sloping gradually to the north, form the watershed for the largest rivers, — the Halys and Sangarios, — which find their outlet along the almost unbroken coasts of the Euxine. On the west the shores are beautifully varied: precipitous and forbidding cliffs alternate with well-sheltered bays, and visions of mysterious highlands in the heart of the land meet the eye. Along the shore nestle fruitful islands; and farther out in the western waters are visible the Kyclades, tempting stepping-stones for primitive seafarers to and from the shores of Greece beyond.

Tradition vaguely tells us, that Phrygians, Cappadokians, Mysians, Lydians, and Carians occupied the land. The main part of these tribes doubtless belonged to the Aryan race, who had wandered from Central Asia. The Phrygians were certainly near of kin to the Greeks: from the Carians the Greeks borrowed their peculiar helmet and weapons, adopting many elements from their religion as well.¹⁵⁸ Clinging to the western coast was a fringe of Greek settlements, consisting of Dorians, Ionians, and Æolians. According to one view, the progenitors of these Greeks in Asia Minor originally came

directly from the centre of Asia.¹⁵⁹ Another theory, leaning on the Greek tradition that these tribes wandered from Hellas to Asia Minor, maintains that one branch of the Aryan race came from its primeval seats in Asia around by the north of the Black Sea, and passed by way of Epeiros into Greece proper, where it spread, and took possession. The land becoming populous, and younger, more vigorous tribes appearing on the spot, adventurous spirits started out, and, going from island to island, at last reached the Asia-Minor coast, from which they crowded back the original dwellers, but received many civilizing elements to spread back in time to Greece itself. There are signs from very early times of such a lively interchange between Asia Minor and Greece, for along these Asiatic shores Hellenic institutions were first developed. Homeric verse was born upon these shores, and here Greek cities flourished long before Athens took any part in history.

Of the earliest history of Asia Minor, we have only vague tradition ; but of its most ancient art a few mysterious monuments exist. Of these, more are continually coming to light ; and the eager search now being made in that little-explored land is meeting its reward.

The earliest religions of Asia Minor bear, in many of their features, a close resemblance to those of Babylon and Phœnicia, but have others which seem peculiar to the new land, and its impulsive peoples. In Phrygia the great deity is Amma, or Kybele as the Greeks called her, the nurturing mother of all, whose priests went to the greatest extremes of orgiastic frenzy, — even to emasculation. With this goddess the Artemis of oldest times must have had many qualities in common ; both being personifications of the living, fertile principle in nature, and far different from our conception of the Hellenic huntress Artemis. Accompanying Kybele is Atys, the Phrygian Adonis, who dies, is passionately mourned for, but comes to life again. In Cappadokia the moon-goddess of war was an important divinity, who was served in rites like those met with in Syria ; her priestesses, it is said, being clad in armor, like men.¹⁶⁰ This strange custom in Asia Minor was, perhaps, the kernel for the Amazon myth of the Greeks, but so beautiful and original in its later form, as hardly to be traceable to this beginning. The Lydian religion also showed points of resemblance to the Orient. The Lydians served a sun-god called Sandon, whose cult was associated with that of the goddess Kybele. Their Heracles, in Omphale's clothes, seems to be an echo of the androgynous god of the Syrians, a conception altogether foreign to the Aryan race. The many names and myths of Oriental color in Asia Minor had led to the conjecture, that Assyria early held sway, even as far west as Lydia : but an Assyrian inscription teaches us otherwise ; for in it an Assyrian king of as late a time as the seventh century B.C. declares that Lydia was a country unknown to his ancestors.¹⁶¹ Other than direct Assyrian influences must, then, be sought for as the bearers of Oriental culture into Asia Minor.

The oldest monuments discovered on the soil of Asia Minor are numerous massive walls and fortresses, corresponding in character and workmanship to the cyclopean structures of Greece and Italy, besides extensive palaces in Cappadokia, Oriental in plan, but thoroughly original in build, with massive stone foundations and walls.¹⁶² The tombs, likewise of cyclopean structure, cut in the rocks, and having false entrances and pediments, which seem to offer the rudiments afterwards developed in Greek architecture into a perfect whole, are also peculiar to this soil.¹⁶³ There are, besides, very ancient tumuli, evidently the patterns of those in Eastern Greece, and themselves copies from the oldest graves in the neighborhood of ancient Babylon. Again, there are numerous sculptures carved in the mountain side, sometimes lining a rock-cut chamber, sometimes adorning the front of a grave, or towering above the road-side. Many of these are exceedingly primitive, but accompanied by mysterious hieroglyphics.

Besides these massive witnesses to the very early art in Asia Minor, small objects have been found. Thus, gold ornaments decorated with calves' heads, and curious human heads wearing the Egyptian head-dress, have recently been discovered in Lydia, and correspond to similar jewels found on the island of Rhodes, at Megara in Greece, and in Etruscan graves.¹⁶⁴ Lydian coins, the first that were struck, also throw some light on the forms and subjects used by the very ancient artists in Asia Minor.¹⁶⁵ How much more secluded valleys and forsaken mountain sides still secrete, is a question which the bold and self-denying explorer alone can answer.

Considering more closely the sculptures in Asia Minor, we find that the oldest seem to be those with strange hieroglyphics executed in relief against a background, instead of being sunken into it, as usual in Egyptian hieroglyphics and Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions. The widely scattered members of this family of sculptures, whose common resemblance was first recognized by Professor Sayce, may be followed to Carchemish, Aleppo, and Hamath, in Northern Syria: but their hieroglyphics have, as yet, refused to disclose their secrets; the single bilingual inscription in which they are grouped with cuneiform inscriptions being very short, and of questioned genuineness.¹⁶⁶ These oldest monuments seem to lie along the great routes leading from the south and east through the peninsula northward and north-westward to Sardis and the shores of the Ægean Sea, and have some resemblance to the art of far-off Southern Mesopotamia.¹⁶⁷ The great centre of this peculiar art is in the heart of Asia Minor in Cappadokia. At Boghaz Keui—probably the Pteria¹⁶⁸ of classic times—and at Euyuk, both situated on the eastern bank of the Halys, in the line of the high-road from Sardis to Armenia, extensive sculptural, as well as architectural, ruins show the works of this civilization, of whose existence until within a few years we had only faint intimations. The ruins at Boghaz Keui were first visited by Texier, but were more thoroughly explored by Perrot and

the French archæological expedition sent out to ancient Galatia in 1862. At this place, from the river's bank rise the massive ruins of a building with thirty chambers, courts, and corridors, arranged about a central space, calling to mind the plan of Babylonian and Assyrian palaces, but, unlike them, not raised on clay mounds, but on a terrace of cyclopean masonry, ascended by steps. At some distance from these palace-ruins are sculptural remains, far more independent in character, and having a peculiarly national type. These are cut in the living rock of a rectangular court, itself hewn out of the mountain side. Around this rock-chamber, whose floor when seen by Perrot was a bed of turf studded with flowers, there walk two stone processions, commencing with diminutive figures, scarcely seventy-five centimeters high, and ending in two forms over two meters high, the principal members of the *cortège*. Although the material in which these strange processions of over sixty figures are cut is a hard, crystalline limestone, and notwithstanding the coating of stucco once laid over them, still preserved in places, these sculptures are now seriously damaged. This stucco incrustation, doubtless originally enlivened by varied colors, has now a yellowish tone.



Fig. 65. Part of Rock-hewn Procession at Boghaz Keul. Cappadokia.

In these stone figures a religious ceremony is doubtless represented. Some of the figures are evidently gods or spirits, having supernatural emblems, such as wings and animals' heads, or accompanied by symbolical animals and hills on which they ride (Fig. 65). Good casts of these sculptures, poorly represented in the cut, have recently arrived in the Berlin Museum. In the centre of one procession is a colossal bearded figure, wearing a tall, pointed head-dress, tip-tilted shoes, and short tunic, garments peculiar to this family of sculptures, and probably the national costume. He walks on the necks of two smaller figures, who may be captives, and approaches a companion of equal size. The latter wears a mural crown, and long, flowing dress, which seem to be female distinctions. The lion she rides steps on four diminutive mountains, a representation familiar to us from Babylonian cylinders, and showing her to be a goddess. A male figure follows her, like the first, in tip-tilted shoes, tiara, and short tunic, riding on an animal which walks on hills. Close in his wake follow two females in trailing garments and with mural crowns, standing above the heads and spread

wings of a ~~double-headed~~ eagle, which probably characterizes these figures also as goddesses. This bird appears also on the ruined monolith forming one of the gate-posts of the palace at Euyuk, and we are well acquainted with it as the heraldic device on many European coins and standards. To trace the manner in which this familiar emblem, originating in these hoary rock-sculptures of Cappadokia, has come down to us, is most interesting.⁶⁹ It was adopted by the Seljukian sultans on taking possession of Cappadokia and Lycaonia in the eleventh century A.D., and was taken from them by the Crusaders, to be carried into Europe. The first bronze coin with the double-headed eagle upon it was struck by the Sultan Malik-es-Salah Mahmud in 1217 A.D., and the symbol first appeared on the arms of the German emperor in 1345. Following the large bearded god and his immediate associates at Boghaz Keui is a procession of twelve warriors marching in close ranks, with the usual male dress: following the goddesses come thirteen females in long, trailing garments.

Extensive and remarkable sculptures, varying in important details from these at Boghaz Keui, were discovered by Perrot at Euyuk, a few miles farther north on the Halys. Here are also extensive palace-ruins, one gateway of which, in block granite, is preserved, as well as the reliefs which flank it. The granite door-posts are carved in the likeness of standing sphinxes; and traces of others were found without the gate, and leading up to it.⁷⁰ The existing sphinxes, although evidently suggested by those of Egypt, do not crouch, but stand, like Assyrian "cherubim," at the gate. The hair, instead of having the straight ends of the Egyptian *klaft*, takes a decidedly decorative curve on each side; the ear, which in Egypt is high above the eye, is here on the same level; and an elaborate necklace, never met with in Egyptian sphinxes in the round, here clasps the neck.

In the reliefs without the gate, ceremonial figures, like those at Boghaz Keui, are engaged before an altar; others lead animals for offering; the building of the palace itself seems to be depicted; a snake-charmer, holding a guitar, stands with a serpent curled around his body; and another figure at his side holds a long-tailed monkey. In all these reliefs, there is the same thickness of proportions, the same inferiority of the human to the animal form, seen at Boghaz Keui. A somewhat greater skill, however, in handling the stone, and in making the relief represent what the sculptor desired, is noticeable in these Euyuk sculptures, which may, therefore, belong to a somewhat later date.

To the west of those Cappadokian ruins, and on the road to Sardis, are others at Ghiaour Kalessi, nine hours south of ancient Ankyra in Phrygia. Here two colossal warriors, about 2.74 meters (9 feet) high (Fig. 66), and girt with long swords, are carved in the mountain rock, against which still lean the cyclopean walls of an ancient fortress with masonry, like that at Boghaz Keui. These huge warriors, one of whom is bearded, have all the peculiarities of garments and weapons which characterize the sculptured processions at

Boghaz Keui, and the ancient palace-builders at Euyuk. Here may be seen, likewise, the same forward bend of the body, roundness and thickness of form, together with the peculiar treatment of the relief, the surfaces of which are flatly treated, although at the edges retiring abruptly to the background; features which seem to indicate a striving to pass from low to high relief.

Better known, though less imposing than these two Phrygian warriors, are their fellows at Karabel, about twenty-five miles inland from Smyrna, beyond Sardis, on the road connecting it with the Ægean Sea. Nearly twenty-four hundred years ago they were described by Herodotos as two figures carved in the rocks by the side of the roads that ran from Smyrna to Sardis, and from Ephesos to Phocaia. One of them, he says, has hieroglyphics across the



Fig. 66. Warriors hewn in the Rock, and Cyclopean Walls, at Ghlaour Kalesi. Phrygia.

chest, and holds a spear in the right hand.¹⁷¹ Even in Herodotos' time, these figures were enigmatical to the Ionians; and the travelled historian makes the conjecture, that they represent the great Egyptian conqueror Sesostris, of whose exploits he had heard much while in Egypt.

One of these ancient stone warriors, so puzzling to the old historian, has been known to moderns for nearly fifty years. It is more than life-size, and is carved out in a niche in the rocks, 42.70 meters (140 feet) above the path. The other, but a few yards distant, carved in a niche, and cut out of a single huge boulder, was only discovered within a few years; as the modern path runs along the uncut back of the stone buried in bushes. As traces of the ancient road have been detected at the base of the carved side of this monolith, it is more than likely that this second figure is the one described in detail by Herodotos, and not the other, which was high overhead. A nearer study of these ancient road-keepers shows that Herodotos was mistaken in thinking them Egyptian. Not only is the costume of the figures different from that worn by Egyptians, but the style of these thick-set and massive forms is also unlike that of Egypt. The prevalent low reliefs on the Nile are strongly

contrasted to these figures, whose edges rise almost perpendicularly from the background. Still more do the hieroglyphics argue against an Egyptian origin of these monuments; they being entirely incomprehensible to the Egyptologist, but duplicates of those at Boghaz Keui in Cappadokia, and at Carchemish and Hamath in Northern Syria.

On the north slope of Mount Sipylos, near ancient Magnesia, is another rock-cut image, usually called Niobe, which for ages has busied the imagination of men. In Homeric verse, we seem to hear such a figure described in the lines, —

“ And now forever 'mid the rocks
And desert hills of Sipylos,
Although she be transformed to stone, she broods
O'er the woes inflicted by the gods.”

And there are passages in Sophocles' *Antigone* which seem like a “half-understood reminiscence” of this statue on Sipylos. Ancient travellers, who made pilgrimages to this shrine, give more accurate accounts, which may be compared with those of moderns.¹⁷² Pausanias describes a Niobe which he saw in climbing Sipylos, and which, when looked at close at hand, seemed but a precipitous rock, presenting no likeness to a female form. At some distance, however, it seemed a woman bent over and weeping. Again, he tells us of a figure of Kybele, the oldest image of that goddess, carved in Sipylos by Proteas, son of Tantalos. Whether his Niobe and Kybele are one and the same, or whether he describes in his Niobe an image yet to be discovered, are still questions. The female figure here carved in a niche in the rock is about five meters (16 feet) high, and is cut out squarely, with only one or two details in the relief. It is, to use Mr. Ramsay's words, “the product of an art so unskilful and so crude, the limestone out of which it is cut is so liable to decay, that it has to be mentally restored to some extent before it can be understood; but, the nearer one approaches to it, the more clear does it become, that the image of a human being is here represented.” Greek tradition made the figure weep, and recent travellers have claimed that they saw the water trickling from it; but Mr. Ramsay, who saw it twice in the rain, noticed that the water flowed quite clear of the figure, not even touching the knees. This makes it doubtful whether it can be the Niobe described by Pausanias; and that it corresponds better to a figure of Kybele is evident from the fact that its pose is that met with in the Babylonian representations of the kindred goddess. A woman is here seated on a throne, with hands upon the breast. About the position of the feet, there has been much discussion; but they seem to rest on two mountains, like those on which the great gods, or the animals which support them, stand at Boghaz Keui. The worship of Kybele prevailed in Asia Minor: the cities of Magnesia and Smyrna swore by her, and many sites in Greece itself held her sacred. It seems, then, that, in

this rock-cut Sipylus figure, the Babylonian goddess stands before us on her half-way journey from her old home in Southern Mesopotamia to Greece, a silent witness to Oriental influence on the Western World. Hieroglyphics discovered by Mr. Dennis on the rock by her side allow us to link this hoary figure with the sculptures of Boghaz Keui and Karabel, and show clearly that it is one of that family of monuments extending from Cappadokia, over Phrygia and Lydia, down to the Ægean Sea.¹⁷³

A like figure, discovered by Mr. Ramsay, near the Phrygian tomb of Midas, adds one more link to this chain, but is likewise too seriously injured to discern its peculiar features. Other monuments of this ancient art have been found in Southern Asia Minor: thus, to the south of Boghaz Keui, near Ghurun and Marash, on the road from the Halys to Northern Mesopotamia, are to be seen similar hieroglyphics. Still farther south, among the mountains inland from Alexandretta, extensive rock-sculptures, probably belonging to the same family, are to be seen, and along the southern coast between Samas and Kannidelli, at Korycos in ancient Kilikia, and farther inland among the mountains of Lycaonia at Ibreez and Trahtin in the neighborhood of silver-mines.¹⁷⁴

Although these monuments have resemblances to the art of Southern Mesopotamia, as seen in their strange symbols, the figures riding on animals or on hills, etc., recurring on Babylonian cylinders; yet their enduring character as carved in the mountain sides, in contrast to the perishable art on the Tigris, as well as their peculiar costumes, and mingling of high and low relief, show national and independent traits.

The deep mystery hanging about the people who created this art could not fail to awaken the ingenuity of scholars seeking its solution. As Carchemish was an ancient centre of Hittite power, Professor Sayce has associated the monuments there found with that ancient people; and finding similar hieroglyphics and sculptures in Boghaz Keui, Karabel, and Kilikia, he has sought to trace that people still farther, on the supposition that they once held a large part of Asia Minor. Egyptian monuments indicate that the Hittites, called Kheta, were at the height of their power in the time of Rameses II., and that with them the Egyptians struggled for twenty years. Professor Sayce consequently conjectures, that the Hittites must have held Asia Minor not long after that time, which would be about the twelfth century B.C. He imagines that they then executed the monuments we have been discussing, borrowing from their predecessors, the Babylonians, and learning from the Egyptians with whom they had come in collision.¹⁷⁵

On this supposition, that the Hittites once held Lydia and Western Asia Minor, it would readily happen that the ancestors of the Greeks became acquainted with Babylonian civilization through them, and not directly through the Assyrians, as has been often conjectured. As no tradition, however,

supports this tempting theory, that Hittites ever ruled in Cappadokia and Lydia, the decipherment of the hieroglyphics will probably alone decide who the mysterious people were, who, in Asia Minor, communicated to the Greeks their knowledge of Babylonia.

Besides these very early sculptures with hieroglyphics, others have recently been discovered in Phrygia which seem to be a later branch of the same family, so similar is their style and treatment. Among the more interesting of these remains is a tomb discovered by Mr. Ramsay in 1881, near the modern village of Ayazeen, bearing in its decoration a most striking resemblance to the Lion Gate of Mykene. On a perpendicular cliff, running along the face of a hill, a cube of rock projects, in the front of which is a

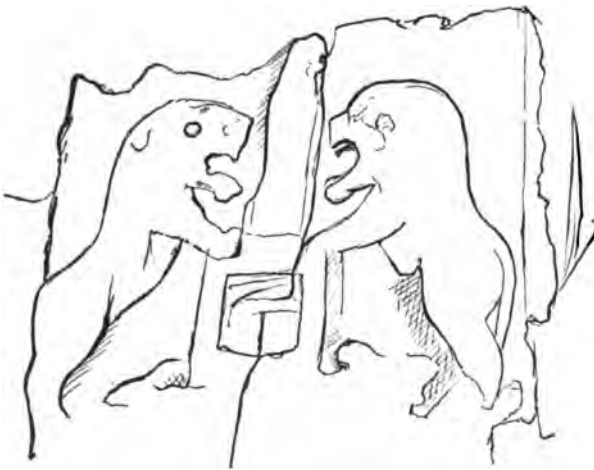


Fig. 67. Relief of Lions on Tomb near Ayazeen. Phrygia.

small door in the usual position in these Phrygian rock-graves, about 6.10 meters (20 feet) above the ground. Over this doorway is carved an obelisk, and on each side a rampant lion with its paws on the top of the door, its head in full profile, and its gaping jaws and projecting tongue facing the obelisk (Fig. 67). The colossal beasts, each about 5.18 meters (17 feet) high, were overgrown with moss; so that no detail of

the sculpture, except eye and ear, was visible. Their tails are long, and what to Mr. Ramsay appeared to be a cub lies under each one. The fundamental idea of these lions, guarding the entrance of the grave, seems to be the same as that of the Mykene lions (p. 154); although they are vastly inferior to the latter in artistic merit, the heads being disproportionately large. The great interest of this monument lies in the fact, that it is the earliest of eight tombs in Phrygia, in all of which this subject re-appears; thus indicating clearly, that the pattern of the Mykene lions must have come from Asia Minor.

Near by was a broken fragment of another tomb, a lion's head, and part of a human arm thrusting a weapon. This may have been the Oriental group, well known from Babylonian gems, of a human being slaying a lion. The most remarkable feature is the lion's head, measuring from nose to back of head 2.29 meters (7½ feet), and, although conventional in detail, full of fierce expression. The whole surface is carefully worked out in flat detail, although the edges of the relief sink down rapidly fifteen centimeters to the background. This approach to high-relief calls to mind the so-called Hittite

monuments, but the whole execution of this fine head is far superior. There is also a clear attempt to produce a truly sculptural effect, far in advance of the Assyrian portal-figures, in which we find high and low relief in unpleasant juxtaposition.

Mr. Ramsay also discovered a strange procession of eight figures, having one traditional type, besides other mysterious figures.

In these monuments of Asia Minor, with their Oriental and independent motives, we have, then, a witness to the continuous tradition in art, extending from the Babylonian plains of prehistoric times down through the great courses of trade, migration, and conquest, till it reached the Greek world. We stand now on the border-land of that great civilization, which, while learning from the past, should, through the power of its inborn spirit, remould the old types, and create a new world of beautiful forms.

EARLIEST ART ON GREEK SOIL.

CHAPTER X.

PRE-HOMERIC AND HOMERIC ART.

Geographical Character of Greece. — Its Earliest Inhabitants. — The Pelasgians. — Earliest Religion of Greece. — Aryan and Semitic Elements. — Imageless Worship. — Crude Idols. — Mythical Artists. Daidalos. — Oldest Monuments. — Mykene Tombs. — Other Tombs. — Their Contents. — Distinct Artistic Elements. — "Island Stones." — Geometrical Decoration. — "Red-clay Ware." — Native Art. — Art traceable to Asia Minor. — Union of Elements. — Oriental Influence. — Ornament with Lions. — Ornament showing Phœnician Influence. — Decorations at Orchomenos. — Mykene Sword-blades. — Party-colored Gold. — Supposed Egyptian Influence. — Independent Characteristics. — Lion Gate at Mykene. — Homeric Descriptions of Art Objects. — Achilles' Shield. — Heracles' Shield. — Statues of Gods mentioned in Homer. — Value placed upon Phœnician Ware. — Influence of Poetry on Art. — Formation of Artistic Types.

THE strongly pronounced features of land and clime could not fail to leave their deep impress on the inhabitants of Greece. History bears witness to the often imperceptible but none the less powerful influence of natural causes in the development of national character. We have seen, that the unchanging uniformity of the Egyptian landscape, and the ever-recurring phenomena of the Nile valley, deeply affected the national and social life of Egypt. So, too, the broad, alluvial plains of Mesopotamia, a tempting ground for contending empires, and the home of abject multitudes, inevitably gave a cast to the form that civilization there assumed. And thus it was in more favored Greece, blest with an endless variety of natural advantages, which could not fail to mirror themselves in the character of its population.

The peninsula, projecting far into the sea, is, in a certain sense, isolated from the surrounding countries. Its western coast is little broken, but deep bays and gulfs indent its eastern shores. To the south and east numerous islands dot the neighboring sea, stepping-stones, as it were, to the opposite coasts, and tempting the primitive inhabitants of Greece to a seafaring, adventurous life. The land is not topographically a monotonous whole, but is broken up by mountains and fertile valleys into separate cantons, communicating more readily by sea than by land: thus Attica is surrounded on three sides by water, and separated from Bœotia by mountain ranges; thus Argolis nestles between the sea and Gulf of Corinth, and the mountain cantons of the Peloponnesos seem by nature assigned the part they were to play in history. With such a natural conformation, these states could not fail to give birth to more or less

peculiar shades of culture. Moreover, the nature of the land was hostile to effeminacy. The friction of contending tribes tended to develop a martial spirit. Continuous and intelligent labor was required to obtain from the soil an existence, and thus the Greek was shielded from the danger of sinking into luxurious apathy and soft indulgence. So the peasant poet Hesiod sings, —

“Work, Perses, that hunger remain far from thee, and the beautifully wreathed Demeter be friendly to thee; for the diligent are loved by the immortals.”

The varied beauties of their land must have worked with a magical power on the imagination of this people. They saw in each valley, and on each mountain, storm alternating with sunshine: they saw the blue arms of the sea breaking into every retired bay, and the rugged lines of mountain and cliff set off by the quiet horizon of the distant waters, interrupted only by silvery islands. No wonder that their fancy, stirred by such scenes, should have enlivened the beauties of nature with creations of the imagination equally beautiful. Here no tropic heat or arctic cold warped and dwarfed the full development of man; and the moderation of the clime preserved the imagination from revelling in the wildly voluptuous dreamland of the Hindoo, or in the weird, shadowy, and monstrous fantasies of the foggy and inhospitable North.

Thanks to its central geographical position, Grèce was most favorably situated for becoming the focus whither flowed all the streams of ancient civilization. Surrounded by the hoary lands of antiquity, and its own sister-colonies scattered along the shores of the Mediterranean and on the islands, we find, from time immemorial, the Greeks, by means of migration, trade, and warfare, being brought into contact with reviving influences from without, remoulding their myth, religion, and art, so that no germs of ancient life were wanting in bringing to perfect fruition the rich plant of Hellenic culture.

The Greeks fondly believed themselves to be autochthons of the soil, the earth-born children of Hellas. But, in truth, their remote ancestry had wandered from distant regions into this favored land. The unerring analogy of language and myth has shown, that on the far-off table-lands of Central Asia dwelt the parent-stock of the great Aryan, or Indo-Germanic, race.¹⁷⁶ Descending from their primeval seats, its different branches spread into the valleys of the Indus, took possession of Iran, and wandered westward into Europe. To these latter belong the so-called Pelasgians, a portion of whom became the ancestors of the Greeks; certain races in time taking a more prominent place under the names Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians. The migration of the Dorians southward probably resulted in the crowding out of parts of some of the tribes who were forced to seek new homes on the islands and in Asia Minor.

Actual history of those remote ages does not exist; for the poetic fancy of the Greeks wove out of their heroic past, as it were, one beautiful poem. It is

only by the coincidence of names, traditional rites, and conceptions, and the study of the preserved monuments, that a few kernels of fact have been rescued.

In the religion of these races the higher, more spiritual elements are traceable to their old Aryan ancestry, with whom light was the power that brings life and strength. It was pure and good, and the gods of light were the beneficent protectors of mankind: they fought the storm-clouds and spirits of darkness, and punished man for deeds of darkness. Accordingly, among the Greeks their peculiar gods, Zeus and Apollo, had in character much in common with Vedic and Zend-Avesta mythology. So, also, minor spirits first received their character from the inhospitable steppes of Central Asia, where storm-clouds battled, and locust-swarms darkened the sky; and these beings seem to have been retained, but ennobled and individualized, by the Greeks. The wild horse, roving in herds, swift as the wind, or fleeting cloud, stimulated the Aryan fantasy to take him as a chosen symbol in art and religion;¹⁷⁷ and so, too, in Greek mythology and art, the centaur, the satyr, the winged Pegasus, Iris, the Erinys, and the black Demeter of Phigaleia, have at base the equine idea.¹⁷⁸

The Pelasgians, according to tradition, worshipped at Dodona one highest god, Zeus, but without images. Moreover, they brought offerings and prayed to many "nameless gods." Hesiod tells of thirty thousand immortal watchmen of Zeus, wandering through the earth, doing his bidding; and it seems most probable, that in the people's fancy the poet's great ethical host, these "nameless gods," were polydemoniacal powers lower in grade than Zeus, and inherited from an Aryan ancestry, but giving rise in time to gods of a higher standing.¹⁷⁹ As these received names, they doubtless became Hermes, Poseidon, the Dioscuri, Hera, Hestia, Themis, the Charites (Graces), etc. Even Apollo and Athena must have been later and beautifully individualized members of this great host; but Aphrodite, we know, was a stranger, imported from thoroughly foreign shores and peoples. It is, moreover, a significant fact, that, in the earliest extant monuments, not Zeus, but his symbols alone, such as the double-headed axe, appear, as well as the animals of daily use dedicated to him, especially the horse, and beings of composite character, doubtless representing those numerous lesser powers dreaded by man.

Besides the distinctively Aryan elements in the early religious conceptions of Greece, there are others of a Semitic cast. Many such flow from the strictly physical conception of nature as generative, and are connected with rites of extreme asceticism and bloody human sacrifice on the one hand, and unbounded licentiousness on the other. The worship and attributes of Kybele, of the Ephesian Artemis, and the Cypriote Aphrodite, may be traced back to the Eastern goddess of fructification, and, doubtless, became known to the Greeks through Phœnician traders and settlers, as well as through their neighbors in Asia Minor. Many heroes, such as Adonis and Melikertes, were

ready-made heroes, imported directly to Greece, whom the Greeks adopted. These Aryan and Semitic elements were, however, in time purified and ennobled by the Greeks; the Aphrodite (Astarte) of the Phoenicians became the incorporation of all loveliness; and the armed priestesses of the East were transformed into the poetically attractive Amazons.

Around the beginnings of plastic art in Greece hang the clouds of legendary obscurity. Even in Homeric song the earliest inhabitants of the land are giants of an older day, and the sculptors and cunning artificers of the past are the gods themselves, — a tradition prevalent among the Greeks down to later times. Tradition tells us, that, before human shape was given to the gods, an older era passed when symbols, such as a tree, an uncut stone, or an unhewn log, were set up and worshipped. Even long after Greek temples had been peopled with beautiful forms, these sacred relics were regarded as peculiarly holy. The thirty pillars at Pharai were regarded as statues of so many gods. In a temple at Kyzikos was revered a triangular pillar, which Athena herself had presented as the first work of art. Even at Delphi, Apollo's most sacred shrine, a pointed column continued to be his holiest symbol. At Samos, Hera was represented by a board; and Athena, at Lindos, by a rough beam. The continuance of such primitive forms down to a late day, alongside of more perfect ones, is an important means by which the stream of art may be traced up to its sources.

About the personality and characteristics of the artists of those very remote ages, the gay web of myth has been so closely spun, that it is well-nigh impossible to trace any sure threads through its fantastic texture. Generic names of strange demoniacal and superhuman beings, the Kyclops, the Dactyli, and Telchines, seem, however, to point to Asia Minor and the islands as the earliest seats of artistic activity and development. The Kyclops came from Lykia to Argolis, there to build the massive walls of Tiryns and Mykene. The Dactyli (skilful fingers) worked principally for Rhea Kybele, the great goddess of Phrygia, that land whose mountains were rich in metal, and whose river-sands glittered with gold.¹⁸⁰ They are met with on the coasts also, working on the Trojan plain and at Miletos. They pass to the islands, appearing on Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete, as well as on the mainland of Europe. The Telchines, those magician artists, so near of kin to the Dactyli that the names of some are interchangeable, are fabled to have been the discoverers of iron, and seem to have belonged to Crete, Rhodes, and Lykia.¹⁸¹ They appear also in Sikyon in Greece itself. They combined the character of sorcerers, priests, and artists, who incurred the vengeance of Apollo, and were slain by that god. They are even reported to have fashioned the forms of the gods, and their activity seems to indicate some improvement in working in metal which may possibly be connected with the first traditions received from the Orient.¹⁸²

Besides these nebulous constellations, one name is so often mentioned, that the temptation has been to consider it as standing for an historical artist. This is Daidalos, the traditional contemporary of King Minos of Crete, builder of the labyrinth at Cnossos, creator of most varied works of art, descendant and friend of gods and heroes, and founder of Cretan and Athenian art. Most varied works were ascribed to him, while all agree that the material in which he worked was wood. Indeed, he is said to have invented the instruments for working it, — the saw, axe, borer, and glue.¹⁸³ The name Daidalos seems, besides, to be symbolical of progress. He was said to have loosed the limbs of the gods, and to have opened their eyes, which, according to pious myth, had been closed on acts of human wantonness. Orpheus had, by the magic strains of his lyre, miraculously tamed the brute creation : but Daidalos accomplished the still greater wonder of giving life to the wooden block ; so that, as the old writers say, his statues “ must needs be bound, lest they walk.” It is said that he represented the mighty Heracles so that the hero was deceived by his own likeness. Seeing the image in the night, he believed it to be alive, and flung a stone at it. But these legends show how thoroughly mythical is the character of Daidalos. Such he was, even to the Homeric poets ; since in the *Iliad* we read, “ And there famed Hephaistos also made a dance, — a maze like that which Daidalos once contrived for fair-haired Ariadne.”¹⁸⁴ In fact, the very name “ artist ” stands clearly for a class rather than for an individual : to this name are also attributed extensive architectural works, not only in the Greek islands, Italy and Sicily, but also in far-off Sardinia, and even Egypt. Later generations kept, as a sacred trust, in their temples, small wooden statues, which they reverently showed, as the work of Daidalos’ hand, to the traveller Pausanias, who lived about 160 A.D. To him they seemed strange and uncouth, — the very beginnings of art ; but in veneration for objects of worship so very ancient, he says, that “ there is a certain inspiration of the god which pervades them.”¹⁸⁵

Happily we are not left to vague myths alone for our knowledge of art activity in those remote pre-Homeric and Homeric ages, long before the appearance of attested historical characters. Around the few isolated monuments, standing out alone in the midst of that nebulous past, may now be grouped numerous often less pretentious remains, discovered within the last twenty years in Asia Minor, the islands, and Greece itself. Thus the celebrated Lion Gate of Mykene, and its equally mysterious neighbors, the so-called Treasuries of the ancients, may be looked upon as parts of one great, although complicated whole, whose connecting-links, thanks to discoveries, at last join on to the artistic traditions of a later and better-known day. In these remains we have the humble seed out of which should spring, little by little, the glorious plant known in its perfection as Greek art, one strong branch of which was sculpture. This branch is, however, so intimately connected with the root and

trunk, that, at the outset at least, the treatment of sculpture cannot be divorced from that of the other arts.

These ancient monuments, now so varied and numerous that it is well-nigh impossible to sum them up in a short space, comprise cyclopean fortifications and tombs with carved entrances; sculptured tombstones; countless trinkets in gold, ivory, and glass paste; weapons of plain and of rare workmanship; utensils, vases, and the like, of coarsest clay, and of finest gold and bronze wrought out in artistic forms; besides engraved stones, soft and hard, — these small objects being laid away for the most part with the dead, in tombs which vary with locality and age.

The greater part of these very ancient graves with remarkable contents have been discovered in Argolis: but they are also scattered along the whole east coast of Greece, facing the islands and Asia Minor; and it is most probable, that, when these latter have been satisfactorily excavated, other tombs will come to light. Objects similar to the contents of these graves are found in numbers on many of the islands, especially Thera, Rhodes, Crete, and Melos.



Fig 68. Stele discovered at Mykene.

The crudest in form of these graves in Greece are five excavated by Schliemann in 1876, on the acropolis of Mykene, and a sixth, discovered by the Greek Archæological Society in 1877, all still glistening with their precious contents, and accompanied by most primitive sculptural tombstones, or stele, one of which appears in Fig. 68.¹⁸⁶ That these tombs of Mykene have a greater antiquity than the encircling cyclopean walls, the well-planned for-

tifications of a powerful dynasty, is evident from their primitive build, — a plain shaft sunken into the ground, in the midst of a circular wall, — as well as from the fact, that the cyclopean walls, on reaching this circle, deviate from a regular line, and make a curve parallel to the space around the graves, thus clearly indicating the earlier existence of the latter.¹⁸⁷ These tombs seem to have been intended, not for single individuals, but for a common resting-place of generations; and it is evident that the grave was opened afresh with each new burial, which may explain the intermixture of the objects laid away.

But more conveniently built for such successive burials, and far more imposing in architectural *ensemble*, are those tombs having a dome-like roof, and containing a circular grave-chamber (*tholos*), like the so-called Treasury of Atreus, a plan and section of which is given in Fig. 69. The roofing is formed by layers of stone, projecting one beyond the other, until they meet in the top, giving

a beehive shape to the building. The doorway is often somewhat ornamented, and always opens into a long, narrow, roofless passage-way (*dromos*), which was safely closed up with a mass of *débris* after each burial. The most celebrated of these dome-shaped tombs, the Treasury of Atreus, has a vault 14.64 meters (48 feet) high, and a highly decorated entrance. Within, this spacious apart-

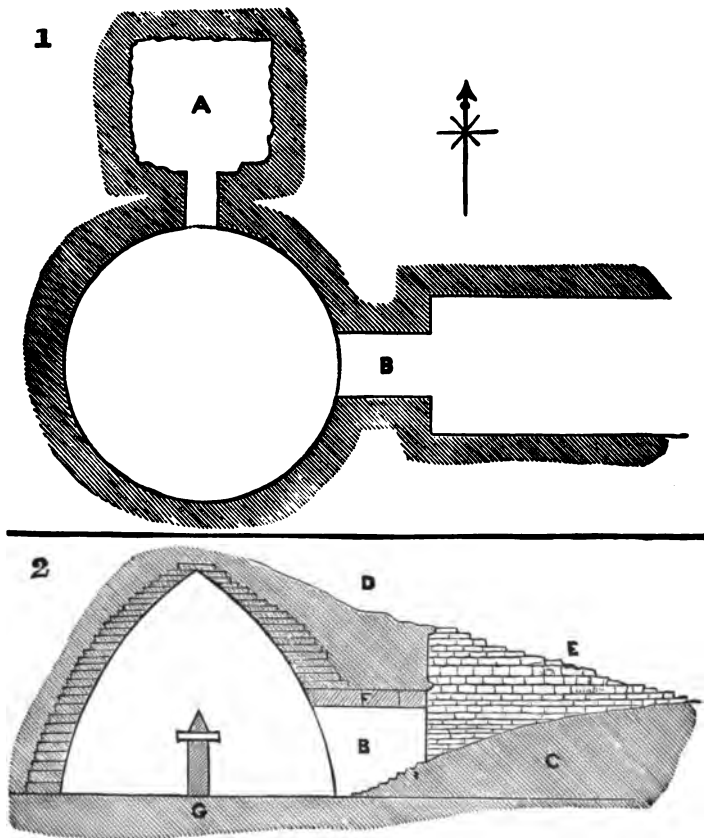


Fig. 60. Plan and Section of the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mykene (restored).

1. Plan of the Treasury of Atreus: A, rock-cut chamber; B, doorway; C, *dromos*.
2. Section of the above: B, doorway; C, *dromos* filled up with earth; D, slope of the ground; E, wall on north side of approach; F, lintel-stone; G, door to rock-cut chamber.

ment was partially lined with plates of metal; and at the portal, which had a crowning triangular space, stood strange columns, which, as recent research has shown, contrary to former opinion, tapered toward the base.¹⁸⁸ These columns, thus resembling closely the one separating the lions of the "Lion Gate" at Mykene, are, however, much more elaborate, having both curious shaft and capital, which was formerly considered the base, covered with spirals and other designs carved into the stone (Fig. 70). Three other similar dome-shaped tombs, but less rich, near Mykene, are yet unexplored; another near the neighboring

Temple of Hera was opened up in 1878.¹⁸⁹ In 1879 a similar building at Menidi in Attica, which, happily, had not been ransacked, was most thoroughly and carefully excavated under the direction of Lolling, and yielded many small objects in gold, ivory, gems, etc.¹⁹⁰ In 1881 additional light came through Schliemann's excavations at Orchomenos in Bœotia, of a similar, but more elaborate structure. Here were discovered numerous fragments of metallic plates, as well as the nails which fastened these linings to the stone; and, in addition, a square chamber off from the majestic *tholos*, which had a flat roof of greenish calcareous schist, carved in elaborate combined patterns of spirals and what seem lotos-buds, surrounded by a border of rosettes.¹⁹¹

At Spata, near Hymettos, other tombs were brought to light in 1877, carved into the living rock, where an attempt seemed to be made to imitate the dome. Happily, many most interesting fragments of ivory carvings and the like were found here also.¹⁹² The rock-tombs at Nauplia, on the slopes of Mount Palamidi, excavated in 1879, were much less richly furnished, and had evidently been despoiled of their more precious contents.¹⁹³

To the ancients of historic times, these structures, with their massive masonry, glittering gold, and precious contents, were a mystery. Strabo calls the grottos at Nauplia the work of the mythic Kyclopes; and, according to Pausanias, the ancient Greeks regarded the colossal structures at Mykene and Orchomenos as the Treasuries of Atreus and Minyas, mythic kings of their heroic age.¹⁹⁴ But the discovery of many skeletons in these structures which had never been opened, as at Menidi, shows most conclusively, that these were the burial-places of many generations, and that the jewellery served to adorn the dead, and the vessels to contain food, drink, and sweet-smelling perfumes; besides, much else was found necessary to make comfortable these last dwelling-places. That all these buildings and the most of their contents are, moreover, the products of a long and slowly developing civilization which flourished before the Homeric age, is now well-nigh conclusively proved.¹⁹⁵

But how puzzling the contents of these graves, how strange the devices met with, how astonishing the amount of gold, especially at Mykene, and of carved ivory at Spata and Menidi! Better to understand their varied artistic character and relationship to later art, let us cast a hasty glance at the contents of the Mykene graves now collected in the Polytechnicon at Athens, and then, following Milchöfer's masterly guidance, trace the most apparent affinities between the different objects and those found elsewhere.

In the Mykene graves, primitive golden masks, amusingly realistic in their rendering of the form, were placed on the faces of the deceased, thus following a very prevalent tendency among mankind.¹⁹⁶ The chests of the dead were covered with a breastplate of the same rich material, decorated with designs natural to malleable metal, such as spirals, winding lines, points, and imitated nail-heads. Broad diadems and girdles, all of gold, growing narrower at the

ends, and covered with similar forms, encircled the heads and bodies. The arrangement of the hair must have been most elaborate, as the bands and ribbons of gold seem to indicate. Many hundreds of single and double buttons, carved in wood, or sometimes in alabaster, and coated with thin gold through which the design appeared, were scattered about the bodies. These buttons were, doubtless, set in rows on to the garments, and on to long wooden sword-handles. There were, besides, spangles of gold to be sewed to the garments; clasps and pins, with designs of deer, lions, sphinxes, griffins, eagles, polyps, cuttle-fish, etc. Chains and hangings of thinnest gold-foil were hung about the bodies, while above and around them bits of gold were scattered in profusion. There were also found solid finger-rings, and large, bead-like objects of gold, evidently parts of necklaces, into which lively scenes were skilfully cut.¹⁹⁷ Besides, there were genuine engraved gems, perhaps intended to be mounted on a swivel-ring, or form parts of a necklace, and serve as amulets. Sword



Fig. 70. Sculptured Capital and Fragment of Column from the so-called Treasury of Atreus. Mykene.

blades and hilts richly decorated, as well as scabbards and vessels of gold, silver, and bronze, some of which are in very exquisite workmanship, were also found. In the fourth grave, there were twenty silver vessels, thirty-two copper caldrons, and one hundred and forty-six swords, large and small. Some of the latter, at last cleaned, have revealed most elaborate workmanship, and quaint, but agreeable, designs. An ostrich-egg, having dolphins of alabaster fastened on to it, was found in one grave; and a few sporadic objects in crystal, amber, ivory, and glass paste, were scattered throughout the graves. Ivory and glass paste are, however, rare at Mykene, but very common in the later tombs of Menidi and Spata. One remarkable object which has attracted much attention, is a steer's head of silver, with hollow, gilded horns.¹⁹⁸ The mouth, ears, and eyes were also gilded; but, of this gilding, only the layer of copper over which it was applied now remains. A graceful rosette is attached to the forehead, and a ring fastened to the neck indicates that this head was intended to be suspended. From its similarity to objects brought by foreigners — probably Phœnicians — to an Egyptian king, as represented in a grave at Thebes, it may possibly be the work of this people, but as yet is not fully explained.

There were also found very many objects of cruder material, fragments of vases in clay, either unglazed and in dull colors, or having a brilliant finish. They are painted with geometrical designs, in which straight and broken lines and circles with tangents play a most prominent part: man, and the animals necessary to him, such as horses and deer, likewise occur in crude and equally geometrical shapes.¹⁹⁹ Much of this pottery is decorated with subjects taken from sea-life, such as polyps, shells, nautilus, sepia, fish, and waves, as well as long-necked water-birds. There is occasionally an intermixture of naturalistic leaves, and the like; while now and then a motive has strayed among them which must have come from the Orient, such as the close-beaked griffin, the lotos-bud, and palm-leaf. The importance of these rude wares lies in the close resemblance of their decoration to that of the gold and other wares found at Mykene; indicating that all these objects belong to one common art-family, which has only within the last ten years been revealed to us. Moreover, the occurrence of nautical subjects on these oldest vases is of the greatest importance in locating their origin, which is thus traceable to a maritime people living on many of the islands of the Ægean, especially Thera, Melos, Rhodes, and Crete, where such vases have been found, and whence they must have been exported in great numbers to Mykene.²⁰⁰

Summoning up before us these varied and peculiar products of a most remote antiquity, is there any thing which bids fair to give birth to that unique art of later days called Greek, so essentially independent in its character of foreign types? or should we see in this perplexing group a conglomerate of elements borrowed entirely from the older Orient? In this bewildering array of gold, silver, ivory, bronze, and gems from Mykene, other parts of Greece, and the islands, Milchhöfer has been able to trace several distinct elements, and show, that while receiving from the Orient, and gold-lands of Asia Minor, a most decided impulse, there was, nevertheless, on the islands a peculiar artistic capacity, which, absorbing into itself foreign elements, was able to combine and improve them, and thus produce an art different from that of its older neighbors, and full of inner life, out of which should in time to come be developed the creations of a perfect Greek art.²⁰¹ Among these islands, Rhodes, Melos, and Thera, no doubt, played a part; but Milchhöfer believes that Crete took the lead. Tradition makes this island the home of Minos, the first Greek ruler, and of Daidalos, the first Greek artist; and many myths, connected especially with Zeus, are traceable to this spot. These shadowy data, however, for the early importance of Crete and its art, still await confirmation by excavations.²⁰²

Among these monuments of earliest times, first and foremost is a large class of engraved gems, humble, unpretending "island stones," as they are now generally called, found in largest numbers on Crete. They are discovered also on the other islands, and the mainland of Greece, especially in the Pelopon-

nesos, but are apparently foreign to Asia Minor.²⁰³ Professor Newton, realizing the importance of these stones long years before others heeded them, collected a very large number, now to be seen in the British Museum. Similar stones were purchased by the Berlin Museum in 1880; and many others are scattered through other collections, or are still floating about in trade. These gems are either in soft stone, principally steatite, or in hard stones, such as sard, agate, jasper, or chalcedony, the latter kind showing the most advanced art. They are all pierced, as though to be strung. The two principal shapes are those of a flattened round pebble such as would be found along the seashore, and of a plum-pit. Other varieties, including three or four sided prisms, or round balls, are rare, and evidently of later date, but show the same family of designs. A few of the more advanced show subjects borrowed from the Orient, such as the lion, sphinx, griffin, etc.; but the greater part have scenes which might be taken from daily life on the islands or the European continent, and are naturalistic in character; others have purely geometrical decoration.



Fig. 71. Engraved Gem with Symbolical Representation. Provenience unknown.



Fig. 72. Engraved Gem with Vase-bearing Figure, possibly Iris. Crete.



Fig. 73. Engraved Gem with one of the Earliest Representations of the Tortured Prometheus. Crete.

The animals native to Europe — cattle, goats, deer, roe, dogs, long-necked birds, doves, and eagles — are most common; but polyps, ships, war-scenes, and the excited hunt, also appear. It is worthy of notice, that these subjects are not composed into the space with the mechanical symmetry so characteristic of Oriental art, but seem to fill it out naturally.^{203a} Thus, is a deer made to occupy a tiny gem, a lance pierces it; and its limp but crude members, "a living episode, as it were, of the hunt," fall naturally into the confined space. The same is true of more complicated war or hunting scenes, as represented by one of the Mykene gold rings (No. 334, Schliemann), the technique of which resembles these stones.

The horse, moreover, plays a most important part in these gems, and appears in such combinations with bird, lion, and locust, that these must have a deeper symbolical meaning than the majority of subjects. One of these monsters, appearing frequently, carries a heavy burden, in one case (Fig. 71) clearly a dead steer or goat. Again, it bears a vessel, seemingly for carrying water (Fig. 72). This latter figure has been ingeniously connected with Hesiod's description of Iris, who bore water from the Styx in a golden

vessel to the gods, preparatory to the great oath.²⁰⁴ It is, moreover, a most significant fact, that neither in Egypt nor in Assyria, where art is so full of animal-headed beings, do horse-headed gods or spirits appear, a conclusive reason for believing these winged equine monsters to be of other than Semitic or Egyptian origin. Indications are strong, that they are the product of Aryan fancy. To arrive at their significance, Milchöfer has questioned the earliest myths of the Greeks, in which the horse plays so important a part; and he believes, that in these gems are embodied in artistic form such mythical conceptions. Such are the legends of Boreas, the Harpy Podarge, Erinys, and even Iris, as well as of the winged Arion, Pegasos, the horses of the Dioscuri, and the like, all of which are traceable to an Aryan source. Similar conceptions appear in the Rig-Veda, and in the Hindoo religion, its offspring, but are foreign both to the Semitic Orient and to Egypt, where the horse plays no part in religious formulas. The Chimaira also, that monster combination of lion and goat, which likewise is nowhere met with in Oriental art, is here traceable in the very process of formation.²⁰⁵ But perhaps most interesting is the fact, that the myth of Prometheus, among the oldest of the Greek religion, and traceable directly through language to its Aryan source, is also expressed on these gems.²⁰⁶ In one most crude representation the offending hero stands, being attacked by a huge eagle: and in another (Fig. 73) he sits with arms fastened behind him; while the bird, the messenger of Zeus, swoops down to inflict upon him the penalty for stealing the fire. This bound Prometheus offers an artistic motive, clearly traceable in later art, as seen on a bronze relief found at Olympia (Fig. 98).

Like the art of these gems are those products of metal technique, and of work in clay, found in Greece, gathered under the head of "geometric decoration," in which the circle and its tangent are most essential elements. Not only the same style of ornamentation, full of corners and straight lines, prevails in them, but also the same types of animals and men. While the aspiring gem-cutter and his fellow, the goldsmith, seem to take up new and naturalistic motives, and in time develop them into pleasing compositions, as seen on the gold rings and sword-blades from Mykene, the much humbler potter was evidently far more conservative, and, indeed, became stereotyped in subjects and rendering, as is evident in the case of that famous family of vases called the "Dipylon vases" from the site of their first discovery, and well represented in Athens in the Varvakion (Fig. 74).

There are, besides, crude red-clay vases stamped with most primitive reliefs, discovered especially in Rhodes, but also in Crete, and even in Bœotia, and having affinities with the "island stones." One of their peculiarities is the frequent representation of the centaur, that particularly Greek monster.²⁰⁷

A wall of insurmountable difficulties rises before the investigator seeking to distinguish exactly who may have been the people who gave birth to this

most interesting art. The general term Pelasgian, by which is understood the earliest dwellers in Greece and the islands, who were, doubtless, of Aryan stock, may, perhaps, best be assumed to designate them; but it is to be hoped, that further investigation on this line may throw new light upon this problematical theme.

But besides this lively naturalistic art, expressing itself originally by crudely graving out its subjects on humble stones, and which for convenience may be termed Pelasgic, there appear, among the treasures preserved to us, other streams, with which it came in contact and intermingled. One of these



Fig. 74. Vase of the Dipylon Class. Taking the Body to the Burial, Mourning, and Procession of Charlots, represented in the Geometrical Style. Athens.

manifests itself in its peculiar and ruling ornamental tendency. Curving spirals and countless disks are the main element, indicating an origin in working in metal. A very large part of the Mykene treasure, with its spirals and winding lines, calls forcibly to mind the imitation of applied wire; while the small round disks, and puffed-out, oval-shaped ornaments, closely resemble shapes which would naturally be beaten out in malleable metal with the hammer. There are, besides, a few designs which seem influenced by cutting in wood, braided work, and woven stuffs. One great peculiarity of this whole family of decoration is, that the forms are not reproduced mechanically from dead moulds, but depend upon freehand drawing and carving, as is also the case with the "island gems." The technique of this art, and its combinations of luxurious winding lines, are probably traceable for their origin to Asia Minor, that land so rich in metals, and settled by peoples belonging to the

Aryan race, who were consequently near of kin to the early inhabitants of Greece. It is certainly not mere accident that the famous decorations of the tomb of Midas in Phrygia, as well as the gold-ware discovered by Schliemann at Hissarlik, on the coast of Asia Minor, have some of the elements so marked in this class of Mykene treasure: hence they have suggested for it the term Phrygian. In the Midas tomb (Fig. 75) this metallic spiral has passed over into stone; but in the Hissarlik gold, now in Berlin, we see it in its genuine primitive stage, where the wire spiral is not yet imitated in the metal surface, but still actually applied to it. In the crude Mykene tombstones we have most interesting samples of the influence of these spirals on working in stone, as well as of the union with these metallic spirals of subjects peculiar to the engraved gems. Thus, on one of these tombstones (Fig. 68) we are reminded of the gems and their kindred gold rings by a scene in which a man riding in a chariot is apparently chasing another, who carries a short sword; while above and all around this scene are spirals scattered over the stone.

But still other influences than those originating in the gold-lands of Asia Minor must very early have had a share in developing the artistic fancy and skill of the people of the Archipelago. These were the Oriental elements, both Semitic and Egyptian, which must have come in largely through the Phœnicians, and which appear either in genuine imported wares or in imitations not easily distinguishable from them. These Oriental motives are Semitic gods and their symbols, plants peculiar to the South, such as the palm-leaf, lotos and papyrus buds. Thus, for example, as to the Oriental origin of the form of the nude Astarte (Fig. 76), with hands to breasts, doves on her head and shoulders, there can be no doubt, nor as to the curious figure of a female with a striped garment in the midst of a luxurious but most symmetrical lotos ornament; since similar figures appear repeatedly on Assyrian cylinders. On one island gem we recognize at once that peculiar being which must have been imported from far-off Chaldæa, in the fish-monster attacked by an active, struggling hero, who is, doubtless, the prototype of the Greek Heracles.²⁰⁸ One striking peculiarity of this Oriental branch is, that moulds for pressing into and casting are the means by which the objects are produced, showing a more mechanical method than is evident in the pure Pelasgic or Phrygian families. The original types of griffins, sphinxes, and perhaps lions, are from the Orient; but the way in which they are combined and applied does not necessarily point *directly* thither. Many Mykene ornaments have two animals united into a composition resembling heraldic devices. There were found at least seven representations of rampant panther-like creatures, placed on each side of some symbol, a motive found on earliest Lykian coins, the Phrygian tombs discovered by Mr. Ramsay, and some "island stones." Five double eagles call to mind those on the rocks of Cappadokia, although somewhat less conventionalized. This striking coincidence between many motives in Greece and the earliest known to us from Asia

Minor, is in harmony with the Greek tradition which traces to Lykia such fabulous monsters as Typhon, Echidna, Sphinx, and Griffin, whose prototypes must, however, have been received from the remoter Orient.

In Mykene, *direct* Phœnician influence seems scarcely evident; but it is marked in the later tombs at Menidi and Spata. In these latter places, ivory, so much an article of Phœnician traffic, was found abundantly, but most probably had been reduced to artistic shapes in Asia Minor, the islands, and other parts of Greece itself. An instance of this is that slab of ivory from Spata, bearing an Oriental subject, a lion devouring a bull, rendered in a crude but

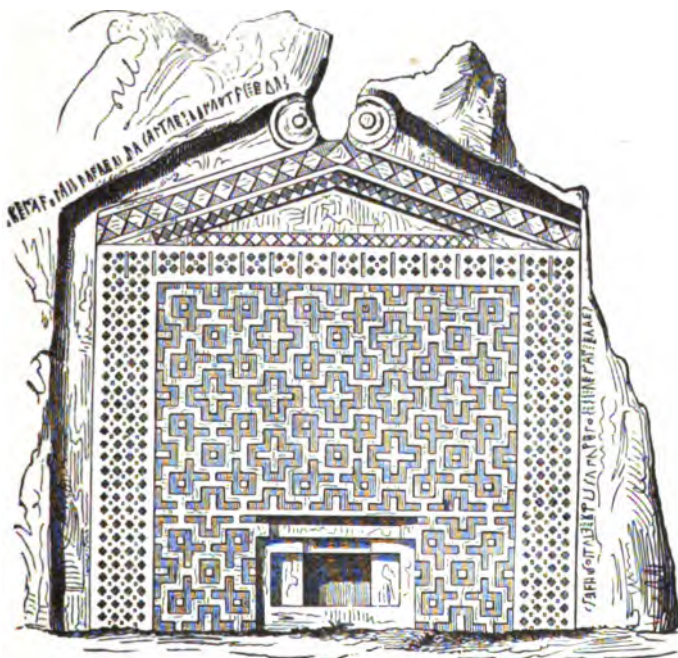


Fig. 76. Façade of the Midas Tomb. Phrygia.

lively manner (Fig. 77). The cunning displayed in piecing together these thin slabs of ivory is so great, that even to-day the junctures are hardly visible. This skill is also seen on a sword-handle found at Menidi, on which are carved two lions standing on a base. Although unfortunately lacking the upper part, these bear resemblance to the rampant lions of the Mykene gate. At Orchomenos foreign influence is most evident in the carving on the elegant ceiling of the chamber adjoining the great *tholos* (Fig. 78). Here regularly repeated spirals, and designs of plants very like the lotos, immediately suggest an imitation of woven textures, in which the patterns are necessarily constantly repeated, as well as hint the peculiar technique of working in metal. Around the edge of this design a row of rosettes gives an agreeable finish. This complicated design gains its greatest interest, however, from its striking resem-

blance to the painted ceiling of an Egyptian tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes (Fig. 79). What may have been the influences at work which brought these designs employed in Egypt over into the very heart of Greece? Did the ancient carver have before him a piece of foreign tapestry, or other reminiscence? or did he work with a mind full of memories of the Nile-land? The fact that this design was found in Bœotia, which, according to tradition, was early visited by Phœnicians, warrants us in tracing their mediating influence in these most intensely interesting decorations.

We have, then, it would seem, three well-marked classes of objects from this very ancient time, — the Pelasgic, represented by the gems, and technique of carving out, as well as by angular and geometrical lines; the Phrygian, by the system of decoration dependent upon the nature of metal, freehand also in its execution, and luxurious in its line; and the Oriental, mechanical in its execution, and conventional in its types. But there are, besides, many objects



Fig. 76. *Oriental Goddess in Pressed Gold.*
Discovered at Mykenæ. Athens.



Fig. 77. *Slab of Carved Ivory found at Spata.*
Athens.

where these different streams meet; and on many of the more advanced objects, preserved to us from this very early age, these different elements have become so organically united, as to form a perfect and agreeable whole.

Certainly that peculiar civilization must have attained a high stage of development which could produce such sword-blades as that now in Copenhagen, found on Thera,²⁰⁹ and the eight other blades, its companions, from the primitive tombs of the Mykenæ acropolis, and now among the choicest treasures of the Polytechnicon at Athens. Long after their discovery, a thick coating of oxide was removed, revealing exquisite work and pleasing devices, which at once raise our admiration to the point of enthusiasm. These eight blades, according to Köhler's examination, vary in the manner of their execution; but one of their common peculiarities consists in the production of most pleasing effects by the use of gold of divers colors. Sometimes they are a single piece of bronze, with slightly raised decoration: sometimes the blade has thin plates of gold inlaid on its sides, not over a millimeter thick, in which graceful spiral ornamentation is engraved, like that of the Phrygian style. Others have

inlaid bronze plates, which were coated with a molten metallic mass of dark, shining color, into which is introduced an ornamentation of thin gold-foil, enlivened by graven lines and divers-colored gold, undoubtedly thus tinted artificially.²¹⁰ On one of these unique blades (Fig. 80), warriors are in combat with lions. Two lions are already in flight, one looking back and growling, as he leaves behind him the lances and arrows of the enemy. The third lion, sorely wounded, has turned upon the hunters, and, having stricken one down, awakens our fears for the fate of the others. One hunter, protected by a strangely shaped shield, hurls a lance from behind it; another, with a different shield hanging from his back, likewise flings his weapon; a fourth cowers, and shoots his bow; and the fifth, a figure larger than the rest, and filling up the widest part of the blade, joins no less vigorously in the attack. The intense action of these wasp-like hunters and fleeing lions gives an animation to the tragic scene which is increased by the uncertainty of the issue. Here in this limited space, so beautifully occupied and so full of intense suggestiveness, we have a true poem, far different from any thing we know of in the schematic or straggling compositions of Egyptian or Oriental art, but very like the scenes on the "island stones;" and the same is true of the scenes decorating the remaining swords.²¹¹ On the opposite side of the blade, lions are pursuing gazelles. In these figures, as in those on another blade where three lions chase one another over hills, about the manes and paws, the gold is of a deep red; in other parts of a whitish-gray tint, or of its own golden hue. On another sword, wild horses, or perhaps asses, chase one another in frightened haste; and lions fall upon fleeing deer. On another we see a flowing, winding river, with its fish quietly swimming, the papyrus nodding over it, and panther-like animals pursuing ducks along its banks, evidently a scene suggested by the Nile, but very different in spirit and composition from any Egyptian representation of the great river. In the lighter gold, which represents the river, graven lines are filled out with darker metal, to represent the fish. Even drops of blood on the necks of the birds are given by red gold; and various colored gold distinguishes stamens, pistils, and stalks, producing a pleasingly contrasted effect.²¹²

Whatever influence Egyptian technique may have had upon the artists who produced these rare works, the details of subject, costume, and composition are so like the gems found only on the islands and in Greece, as to make it most probable that they belong to the same great class of art-objects, the products of a vivid fancy, moulding what it had received from other times and lands into shapes of its own, and thus developing on the islands of the Ægean, in these humble gems, blades, utensils, and pottery, those germs out of which should be unfolded in time the full flower of Greek art.

Still later in the chain of this long development, but not different in character, seem to be the colossal sculptured lions of the cyclopean fortifi-

cations at Mykene, and the richly decorated façade of the so-called Treasury of Atreus.

These fortifications at Mykene, and at the neighboring "well-walled Tiryns" of Homeric verse, and these imposing tombs, are clearly the products of a very highly developed civilization, and of a time when the power must have been concentrated in the hands of a despotic dynasty, such as the house of Atreus is pictured to have been. Well-laid-out roads, gigantic bridges, walls, and gates, protected by casemates in the ramparts, reveal the well-planned and skilful military engineering of the age, as has been so admirably shown by Capt. Steffen.²¹³ The acropolis of Mykene, surrounded by abrupt and gloomy gorges, rises from the smiling plain of Argos, whence may be seen the islands glimmering in the distance. The Greek legend was, that the Tantalid Pelops came over from his Lydian fatherland to Greece, there to found a new kingdom, thus giving his name to the Peloponnesos. By his fabulous wealth, he succeeded in

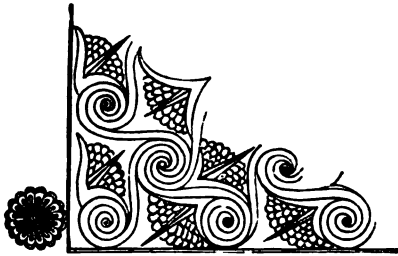


Fig. 78. Part of Sculptured Ceiling in Rock-cut Chamber of Great Tomb at Orchomenos.

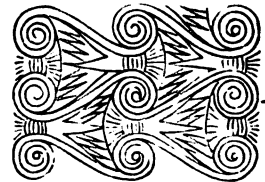


Fig. 79. Part of Painted Ceiling of Tomb in Thebes, Egypt.

winning the poor inhabitants of the land, and in founding the new dynasty of the Achaeans, which numbered Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon among its last members. Mykene itself was said to have been founded by the mythic Perseus; and Pausanias declared, that these very walls were built by the Lykian Kyclops, who were also the builders of the walls of Tiryns for Proitos.²¹⁴ Girding the summit are those massive cyclopean walls of polygonal stone, which Pausanias enthusiastically asserts vie with the pyramids as architectural wonders; while modern travellers have expressed hardly less admiration.

Over the lintel of a well-protected gateway in these massive walls, is the celebrated relief of the lions which has given name and fame to this portal, as the Lion Gate of Mykene. Here we see (Fig. 81), standing with their forepaws on the elevated base of a curious column, two lions. As is indicated by the muscles of the neck, the ruined heads once projected from the rest, and doubtless yawned upon those approaching, like grim sentinels. The whole idea of these monsters forcibly resembles that of the tomb-guardians of Phrygia (p. 132), but is far more artistic and architectonic in its composition.

There is much naturalness in the details, as seen about the folds in the neck,

and in the leanness of the loins, like that of beasts in their wild state. The whole impression, however, is that of an intentional deviation from nature. The compact form of the lion has here become long and slender; the short paws are extended beyond their natural proportions; and the powerful, bushy tail is reduced to a meagre size. By this means the carving is wisely limited to an important and confined space, and does not run wild over the whole building, as at Boghaz Keui (p. 127). Moreover, the details of the relief are kept within a given plane, and are far in advance of the primitive Mykene tombstones (p. 142), where a sense of adaptation to architectonic law was, as we have seen, utterly lacking.

In these lions we have probably one of the last great achievements of the Heroic age. With the disturbances caused by the wanderings of the Dorians and other tribes, the golden dynasties of Mykene must have fallen, and with them the source of such great monumental works. Consequently we are left again to minor objects in which to trace artistic activity. It is most probable, that soon the Phœnicians came in greater numbers, flooding the market with their cheap wares, such as glass pastes and the like. Possibly the older national elements had thus a less favorable opportunity to express themselves, until long after, when order within had been established, and riches had in time been accumulated by a flourishing colonization.

Turning from the monuments testifying to the earliest development of art on Greek soil, let us seek for indications given us by the Homeric poems as to the art of their day.

Fig. 80. Sword-blade with Figures inlaid in Gold. Discovered in Mykene. Athens.



The epics the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" are generally admitted to be the creations of the Asiatic and insular Ionians of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.²¹⁵ They are reminiscences of an heroic ancestry; but the works of art mentioned by the poets are, doubtless, what they saw about them every day, transferred by them to an earlier time, and applied to scenes of Trojan myth. In the description of art-objects, the weapons and utensils with which they were familiar naturally occupied the poets' minds. On Achilles' strong arm they put a shield similar to what they had doubtless seen themselves, and describe Phœnician cups like those from which they themselves may have drunk. That the poets' descriptions are not mere imagination is strengthened by the testimony of objects now brought to light in excavations. Does the poet speak of ancient Tiryns as "strong walled," the antiquarian points to its Titanic masonry, still standing. Does he put into the mouth of Telemachos at a banquet in the palace of Menelaos these words, —

" See, son of Nestor, my belovèd friend,
In all these echoing rooms the sheen of copper; "

And does he tell of Alkinoös' palace, where, —

" On every side beneath
The lofty roof of the magnanimous king,
A glory shone, as of the sun or moon; "
" There from the threshold on each side were walls
Of copper leading towards the inner rooms,"^{215a} —

we find his descriptions verified in the so-called Treasuries of Mykene and Orchomenos, where the bronze nails that once served to attach plates of copper still remain in the walls, and fragments of the latter are found in the ruins. The gold and silver mastiffs guarding the entrance to Alkinoös' palace call to mind the Mykene lions and the kindred figures of inner Asia. And when the slender forms of boys are described,²¹⁶ —

" In gold upon the shapely altar,
With blazing torches in their hands, to light
At eve the palace guests," —

we must believe that the minstrel had seen something suggestive of such fancies as he wandered from one splendid court to another. Objects like Odysseus' golden clasp, "a work of rare design, a hound that held in his forepaws a spotted fawn struggling before his mouth;" or like Heracles' "formidable baldric, on whose band of gold were sculptured marvels, forms of bears, wild boars, grim lions, battles, skirmishings, and death by wounds and slaughter," — seem to live before us in the finely executed weapons and engraved gems now discovered.

But most full and glowing is the account of Achilles' shield,²¹⁷ forged by Hephaistos' strong arm, "of impenetrable copper and tin, and precious gold and silver," "its edge clasped with a triple border white and bright. A silver belt hung from it, and its circles were five." This imaginary shield has given rise to endless conjecture.²¹⁸ Even Roman fancy busied itself with its reproduction, as is shown by a marble shield discovered in Rome in 1882, having reliefs and seventy-five lines of the "Iliad" inscribed on the marble belt run-



Fig. 81. Lion Gate at Mycenae.

ning across it. In Homeric verse several shields are described like that of Achilles, having concentric circles; and many ancient shields from Etruscan graves in Italy have the same general plan.²¹⁹

Immediately around the central boss was a ring, in which were "two cities fair, and full of men," the one picturing peace, the other war:—

"In one were marriages and feasts :
 Around the other sat two hosts
 In shining armor, bent to lay it waste. The youths
 Marched on with Ares and with Pallas at their head,

Both wrought in gold with golden garments on,
 Stately and large in form, and over all,
 Conspicuous in bright armor, as became
 The gods : the rest were of humbler size."

The strange demons, Ker and Eris, mingled also in the crowd. In the following ring, —

"He sculptured a broad, fallow field
 Of soft, rich black mould, thrice ploughed, and over which
 Walked many a ploughsman."

"All dark behind the plough
 The ridges lay, a marvel to the sight,
 Like real furrows, though engraved in gold.
 There, too, the artist placed a field, which lay
 Deep in ripe wheat : with sickles in their hands,
 The laborers reaped it."

And there —

"The servants, underneath an oak,
 Prepared a feast apart."

"A vineyard also on the shield he graved,
 Beautiful, all of gold, and heavily
 Laden with grapes. Black were the clusters all.
 The vines were stayed on rows of silver stakes.
 A trench of cyanus round it drew he, and a hedge
 Of tin round that."

"Young maids and striplings of a tender age
 Bore the sweet fruit in baskets."

"Here also the artist wrought a herd of bees,
 High-horned, and sculptured all in gold and tin :
 They issued lowing from their stalls, to seek
 Their pasture, by a murmuring stream that ran
 Rapidly through the reeds. . . .

"Two lions, seizing on a bull
 Among the foremost cattle, dragged him off,
 Fearfully bellowing."

"There also did the famed strong-armed god engrave
 A fair, broad pasture in a pleasant glade,
 Full of white sheep, and stalls and cottages,
 And many a shepherd's fold with sheltering roof."

In the outer ring, —

"The famed strong-armed also wrought
 A dance, — a maze like that which Daidalos,
 In the broad vale of Cnossos, once contrived
 For fair-haired Ariadne. Blooming youths
 And lovely maidens tripping to light airs,
 Held fast each other's wrists."

And finally, —

“Last on the border of that glorious shield,
He graved in all its strength the ocean stream.”²²⁰

The varying color of these decorations, as the black earth and white sheep, as well as the details, like grapes, which could have been produced only by inlaid work of divers-colored metal, recall the sword-blades (p. 155) and a silver cup of the Mykene graves, and suggest the possibility that the ancient poet may have had before his mind such exquisite work, corresponding, both in technique and lively subject, far more closely to this brilliant description than do the coarser, more monotonous, Cypriote silver bowls, once all we had which could serve to illustrate this shield. The subjects of the poet's description are, moreover, far less fantastic than the fabulous heraldic monsters, and monotonous figures of Egyptian and Assyrian gods, standing in still rows on the majority of Phœnician bowls.

The spirit of the art on this Homeric weapon is that of a primitive people delighting in pictures of familiar scenes, mythological characters being most rare. But a shield of Heracles is described in Hesiod (about 800 B.C.), which seems to show a slight advance upon the realistic subjects of Achilles' shield; since mythological scenes are frequently introduced. The surface of Heracles' shield is composed of concentric circles, which were, however, alternately broad and narrow. Thus the space seems to be more decidedly marked off, and the composition rendered clearer. In the centre was the snake-bound head of Phobos, son of the war-god; around it scenes from daily life, wild beasts seizing cattle, swimming dolphins, representations of the four seasons, Apollo, the Muses, Perseus, the Lapithæ, and other mythological scenes.²²¹ Thus the greater clearness of composition, and the happy mingling of myth with common scenes, indicate an advance in poetical conception on the earlier work. Moreover, the method of working metal on this shield — silver figures in dresses of gold, silver centaurs with pine-trees of gold for staves in their hands — calls to mind the work of the smith-god, Hephaistos, on Achilles' shield, as described by the Homeric poets. The appearance of many-hued figures on the Mykene sword-blades, as well as the peculiar subjects on the “red ware” vases from Rhodes, find here also their analogy, and have been shown by Milchhöfer to belong to the great parent-stock of Greek art, enriched by influences from Asia Minor.²²²

The pleasing counterpoise of parts, shown by Brunn to exist on these poetic shields, seems, moreover, a prophecy of that love of order and artistic symmetry met with continually in Greek art of a later time, but quite foreign, so far as we know, to the spirit of genuine Oriental work, whether Egyptian, Assyrian, or Phœnician.

But twice do the Homeric poets allude to representations of the gods.

One of these was the Athena, upon whose lap the Trojan women laid a robe, "many hued," and "glistening like a star."²²³ Judging from the garments which covered it, we may conclude that it was one of those primitive objects of worship, clothed to give them lifelikeness. No notice of large statues, independent of the architecture and sculptured in the round, can be traced in the poetic creations of the "Iliad" or "Odyssey." The torch-bearing youths, the gold and silver mastiffs, were clearly decorative, if not purely fantastic.

How highly Phœnician products were prized by the early Ionians, is evident from many passages. A richly embroidered garment, the handiwork of Sidon's damsels, was considered the most beautiful of all, and, as such, offered to the goddess. The wrought silver cup, "the prize of swiftness" at Patroclus' funeral, "that in beauty far excelled all others known," was from "the cunning hands of Sidonian artists," and was brought over the dark seas "to the Greek harbor" by "the men of Phœnicia." Menelaos, when about to make a gift, "a cup wrought all of silver, save its brim of gold," calls it the "choicest and most precious of all that was in his house," adding, that it was given him by the king of Sidon.

But that the Greek artist in that day had a character of his own, seems apparent from the poet's distinction between foreign and native wares. Was this simply on account of the helplessness of infant Hellenic art? or did it even then show signs of a higher, more ideal type? The few monuments rescued from that earlier age, which we have in part considered, and the enthusiastic descriptions of poetry, strengthen the belief that a spirit was already awakened which should guide the hands of this younger people to imitate and then excel the older craftsmen, and should teach them to mould forms of higher import and truer beauty.

While the artist was thus still struggling with traditions and technique, poetry was giving birth to new creations, and was purifying and elevating the imagination of the people. The Homeric poets were revealing a world of mythology and beautiful imagery, thoroughly Greek in character. Their vivid language described scenes so graphically, and material forms with such naturalness, that they became plastic, standing out with statuesque power. The grand and heroic deeds of men were elevated into the region of the godlike; and, on the other hand, the conceptions of supernatural themes received such distinctness, that they seemed to become a part of human life. Thus was formed a heroic mythology. The poet was giving the gods shapes, not monstrous like those of the Oriental deities, but humanly perfect, so that Herodotos could say that Homer and Hesiod had created for the Greeks their gods.²²⁴ With these men, followed by the later poets, innumerable ideals were brought into existence, around which rich fancy and description threw their charms: thus abundant material was prepared, from which the artist of the future, sculptor or painter, could draw his inspiration.

But it is becoming more and more evident, that there were also slowly forming a number of artistic types, which were adapted to the different myths, not exactly as they were sung by the poets, but as they were current among the people. Thus certain schemes, originating, it would seem, in daily life, came to be used for mythic subjects, applied sometimes to one story or character, and sometimes to another. Thus, a typical kneeling figure is sometimes Heracles fighting with a dragon, and sometimes Achilles in the Troilos adventure. These types developed at so early an age have, however, as yet been little studied; and it is probable, that from the old reliefs on the vases called "red ware," as well as on those called "*bucchero nero*," many secrets concerning them remain to be revealed.

CHAPTER XI.

ART AMONG THE GREEK PEOPLES DURING THE EIGHTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES B.C.

The Greek Cities and Islands. — Corinthian Wares. — Colonization and Trade. — Coining. — Political Changes. — Early Religion of Greece. — Influence of Poetry. — The Gods. — Artistic Growth. — Altar Worship. — Significance of Votive Offerings. — Ancient Rites. — Their Influence. — Fabrication of Utensils. — Passage over from Oriental Forms. — Incrustation. — Bronze Relief from Olympia. — Oldest Images. — Terra-cottas. — Individualization of the Different Gods. — Literary Accounts. — Kypselos Chest. — Its Evidence of Advance. — Analogous Works. — No Images of Gods mentioned. — Artists mentioned. — Dibutades. — Glaucos. — Improvements in Bronze Working. — Beginnings of Working in Marble.

As early as the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., a fringe of thoroughly Greek cities skirted the coasts of Asia Minor, principal among which were Kyme, Ephesos, Miletos, Erythrai, Phocaia, and Colophon. Of the Greek settlements on the islands, those of Samos, Chios, Naxos, and Paros early gained great importance; so also on Euboea, off the coast of Attica, Chalkis, — early settled by Ionians from the East, and famous for its valuable copper-mines, — as well as the neighboring Eretria, became influential centres of trade. Nor should we forget the island Delos, birthplace of Apollo, and from time immemorial sacred to the god of light. Thither came worshippers from distant Ionia, Greece itself, and from the surrounding Kyclades, grouped, as it were, in choral throng around the rocky cliff.

Crete, that most ancient focus of civilization, geographically so situated as to receive impulses from all sides, and then to radiate them, was even to the Homeric poets a hoary land. Although, in the political history of the centuries following these poets, it seems to play a less important part, there is every reason to believe that the artistic activities developed on that island continued to work, exerting their influence, not only on the Peloponnesos, but also distant Italy.²²⁵

In Greece itself, Corinth, conveniently situated on the sea, rose to prosperity and wealth long before Athens took any position in history. Crude painted tablets discovered at Corinth, votive offerings hung on the trees in Poseidon's holy grove, and now to be seen in Berlin, give us a picture of this time.²²⁶ On these objects are portrayed, in most primitive style, agricultural, hunting, and war scenes, ship-building, sailing, gymnastic exercises, mining, the

smelting of metals, and the fabrication of vases. In the neighborhood of the spot where these tablets were found, the white clay of which they were made is still to be seen; and the now deserted shafts they depict, witness to the importance of metal in ancient Corinth.

As early as 785 B.C., Ionian colonists from Miletos, taking with them their religion and culture, settled on the shores of the Black Sea. About fifty years later, still others took possession of the peninsula, rich in mines, to the north of Greece; and a century still later others founded Kyrene, in Northern Africa. About the same time a new Greece was established along the shores of Sicily and Southern Italy by colonists from the Asiatic coast, soon followed by others from Chalkis and the mainland of Greece, probably bringing those metal fabrics found so abundantly in Etruria, and now recognized as the works and types of the early Greeks, and not of the Etruscans.²²⁷

Trade, that most important factor in developing the material resources of a land, was not at first carried on in the Greek world by the convenient system of a well-regulated and officially stamped coinage. Rings of gold, pellets, and small obelisks of metal adjusted to fixed weights, but probably without any stamp to guarantee them, were, it seems, first used.²²⁸ The addition of the official stamp creating coinage, and thus greatly facilitating trade, was probably made by the wealthy Lydians during the latter half of the seventh century B.C., a time when they ruled Western Asia Minor up to the very gates of the Greek cities on the seashore. The metal which they used was not gold or silver, but electrum, a mixture of the two, found in the bed of the Pactolos, and other rivers of Asia Minor, and considered by the Greeks to be an independent metal. Two standards are traceable in this early Lydian coinage, — one following the Babylonian silver standard, and the other the Phœnician; the former, doubtless, having wandered to Lydia by land, and the latter by sea.²²⁹ This invention was at once adopted by the enterprising Ionian cities of the neighborhood; and most probably these Ionians it was who improved upon the crude Lydian method, substituting for primitive punches engraved dies, bearing an emblem of the temple or city issuing them, and in time an inscription, and the mark of the magistrate under whom they were minted. Among the Ionian cities, Phocaia is said to have first issued coins; but the invention was not long confined to the Asia-Minor shores. It must rapidly have spread to Greece, where, according to story, Pheidon of Argos was the first to coin money on Ægina.²³⁰ Eubœia and Corinth must have issued coin at about the same time; the rising Athens soon followed their example, the custom rapidly spreading to the distant colonies: and thus, by a wide-spread colonization, and improved means of trade, riches could be accumulated. From this primitive coinage has sprung a world of art, which, beautiful in itself, has also proved invaluable in throwing light upon the larger works of sculpture.

In state the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. were formative in their

character. In the remoter antiquity the rule of kings seems to have prevailed ; but in the wealthy cities of Asia Minor, and in Greece itself in all the states except Sparta, royalty gave way to the oligarchical rule of the few ; and codes of laws were framed accordingly. But in most of the Greek cities the rule of the few was, by the seventh century B.C., in turn overthrown by men who, emancipating themselves from the aristocracy, espoused the cause of the commonalty, and through their aid secured the government in their own hands. In Corinth, for example, the tyrant Kypselos, about 657 B.C., won the day over the jealous aristocracy, and by this means came to play an important part. The exodus which followed resulted in the immigration into Etruria of many workers in clay, who left their impression on the art of that land.

In looking at the early religion of the Greeks, we find, that though it was undoubtedly associated with a binding ritual, yet the powerful priesthood, the iron-bound formulas, the extravagant mysteries and superstitions, of Chaldæa and Egypt were wanting. This greater moderation is a common feature of the Aryan races in antiquity. Among the dwellers of the Punjab the invocation of the spirits, or spoken prayer, held an important place ; and, among the Aryans of Iran, the mysterious power of the songs of the fire-priest was of equal weight. So, with the oldest Greeks, the good hymns of the singer, invoking deity, were equal to the offering itself ; and the profession of singer passed from father to son. But even these sacred singers did not bring the offering themselves. Each head of a household sacrificed for himself and his family, the chief for the tribe, and the nobleman for his retainers. Thus priest and people were one, as it were ; and even after extensive temples and large property were set apart to the gods, and a large body of temple attendants became necessary, still the separation between priests and people never seems to have asserted itself as prominently as in other lands. There are, moreover, signs that the singers purified and exalted the coarser fancies of the people, and that the monstrous conceptions of a primitive age were ennobled into purer ideals, which, in time, should have their reflex influence on the masses. Thus, in the Homeric poems, as well as those of Hesiod, there is an evident omission of the monstrous and revolting, where mention is made of the Harpies, the Graiai, and Gorgon.²³¹ During these centuries the Homeric epics came to be sung everywhere by wandering minstrels, the people becoming familiar with their rich imagery. Other poets following sang in the Thebais, the Ethiopis, and the graceful Kypria, deeds of gods and heroes in clearly human shape. Now lyric verse, with its deeper feeling, slowly budded, and spread its fragrance, in time supplementing the more purely external creations of the *epos*. In the popular estimation the gods seem to have become, not the representatives of blind forces, nor even the extravagant products of untutored fancy, but beings full of life, concerned in the affairs of men, and intimately bound up with the

legends of the land, and the fortunes of its noble families. These gods were man's friends, approached with song and offerings. Conceived as not being altogether mysterious, but possessing the virtues and even frailties of humanity, they were regarded as subject to the same passions, and accessible to like persuasive influences. They take sides in the conflicts of men, are excited to anger and jealousy, or laugh at one another's infirmities.

Parallel with this stream, but more slow in its course, must have been the effort to give material shape to the conceptions of the gods, as they floated in the popular belief. Not suddenly did the artistic Greek fancy give birth to that beautiful array of ideals with which we are familiar, but slow and sure was the development up to these highest creations. That at first only the symbols and attributes of the heavenly powers, and the forms of the lower spirits (*daimons*), expressing the influence on the mind of natural forces, were represented, is well-nigh proven. We cannot follow the steps taken from these rude beginnings up to the representation in human shape of the gods themselves, but we may imagine the primitive artist's delight and satisfaction in his first rude attempts. It is a suggestive fact, that not the greatest gods, but those nearer to man, and more mediatorial in character, seem to have been the first to have been represented. Thus Apollo and Hermes, as we may see from vases, attained expression long before the mighty Zeus or majestic Hera. That, however, these different ideals did not originate in any one locality, is most evident. Rather were they a simultaneous growth in many different parts among the gifted younger Greek peoples.²³²

But the earliest worship of the Greeks, following that of their kindred, the Pelasgians, centred about open-air altars, from which the smoke of the burnt-offerings arose in grateful incense to the gods. That such imageless worship was the first, and long maintained itself in Greece, appears from the recent excavations at Olympia. For centuries Olympia was a sanctuary without temples, a great altar-seat.²³³ There the numerous layers of ashes, extending far below the historical buildings, testify to this ancient sacrificial worship. In the oldest of these layers are lacking all images of the gods, although their symbols are found. These altars were not only places of sacrifice, but formed centres for the deposition of votive offerings, which seem to have been hung upon the trees, or laid upon the altars.

The significance, moreover, of very many ancient works of art throughout Greek history, only finds its explication in the custom of setting apart from every thing a portion to the gods. Not only of all that the gods had themselves bestowed, but also of the means by which such blessings were obtained, something was thankfully devoted to them.²³⁴ They included a great range, from the richest objects of personal luxury, jewels, and raiment, down to humble utensils used in daily life. Offerings once dedicated could never be used again for profane purposes. The tithes set apart as *ex voto's* were usually

presented in the form of a work of art, instead of the actual produce of land or trade. Thus, for instance, in thanks for their multiplied flocks of goats, the Elymaians consecrated a bronze goat at Delphi.²³⁵

Although the sacred altar originally formed the centre where these gifts were deposited, as excavations at Olympia prove, in time separate treasuries were erected to contain them. The altars themselves have disappeared; but the finding of innumerable votive gifts, scattered in the deep layers of ashes, is one of the most interesting results of the excavations in reference to this ancient worship. In the lowest and oldest strata of ashes were found mainly tiny bronzes and terra-cottas, representations, not of deity, Zeus or Hera, but of the worshipper himself, as charioteer, rider, or warrior. Most frequently the useful animals, the horse and ox, accompanied him. These finds are especially interesting as showing us, that in Olympia, at least, the early suppliant did not offer at the shrine images of the god or his sacred animals, which would have been for Zeus the eagle. The worshipper presented instead his own image, and those of the animals necessary to daily comfort.²³⁶ These very crude figures, found in immense numbers, are supposed to date from as early as the eighth century B.C., and may have been the origin of the later custom at Olympia, of dedicating to deity figures of the victors. The Greeks of the later day appear to have ennobled the old tendency by limiting the privilege of presenting a statue to those who were worthy of it. This custom of dedicating to deity the worshipper's own image does not seem to have been originally a Greek idea, but is traceable to the Orient. The prevailing custom in Cyprus, of representing the worshipper, was kept up long after art in Greece had mounted to higher regions. It is a fact worthy of notice, that none of these primitive riders and charioteers so abundant in Olympia are found in Attica, the home of the pre-eminently ideal art of later times, but are found in large numbers in Bœotia, Rhodes, and Cyprus.²³⁷

Nor did the altar ever lose its significance in the Greek religion, while the temple and its statuary were often of secondary importance. In solemn procession, as the poets picture them to us, the worshippers approached the altar with choral and responses, awakening the spirit of devotion. When they had formed around it, and the smoke of the offering ascended, then sounded the *hymnos*. About the place of sacrifice they circled in rhythmic dance, accompanying the music, and giving expression to the emotions roused by the hymns. At the festivals to the Pythian Apollo, the dance of the boys recalled the combat of the youthful god with the dragon Python. The dances were not confined to the simple movement of the feet, but called into play harmoniously the whole body in untrammelled motion. Accompanying these offerings were also competitive games and contests, in which the best and strongest took part, — time-honored festivals, by which they thought to please and honor the gods.

How early and how deeply the ancient Greeks were influenced by these

rites and impressed with their beauty, is hinted by the fragment of a Homeric hymn, thought to date from the end of the eighth century B.C.²³⁸ In it, after referring to the many rites beloved by Phoibos, the poet sings, "But Thy heart delights most in Delos, where the Ionians, in long garments, gather with their children and worthy wives. Thinking of Thee, they rejoice in the game of boxing, in dance, and song. Whoever comes thither where the Ionians are gathered, might easily believe them immortal and unchangeable: for he would see the grace of all; and his heart would rejoice at the sight of the men, and their beautifully girded women, at their rapid ships, and rich possessions. To this comes a great spectacle, the fame of which can never die,—the Delian virgins, the handmaidens of Apollo, first singing to him a song, and remembering the joyful arrow-bearing Artemis and Leto. Then they praise the men and women of the heroic past, charming the children of men."

For the purposes of this altar-worship, numerous utensils were required, which came in time to assume finely wrought and graceful shapes. Thus, Apollo's shrine at Delphi is pictured to us, by Theopompos,²³⁹ as adorned in earliest times, not with figures in human form, but with vases and tripods of metal; his statement being confirmed by the recent discoveries on many ancient sites. At Olympia innumerable fragments of most primitive tripods were found, the parts riveted together by nails, and decorated with those geometrical designs frequently occurring in very early art, and here classed by Furtwängler in a special family.²⁴⁰ In addition, pieces of large metallic vases were brought to light, which were decorated with the heads of griffins or lions. Such large vases were sometimes hung up by these figures attached to the rim, and sometimes rested on elaborate standards, parts of which have also been preserved. From the sites where these objects were discovered, and from comparison with the earliest painted vases, their date has been fixed approximately as the eighth or seventh century B.C.²⁴¹ In many points they remind us of Phœnician wares, but are evidently improvements upon the monotonous creations of that purely imitative people. It is still undecided where they were manufactured, but possibly it may have been in Crete, or the Peloponnesos itself. We also find here, mingled with these Greek wares, unmistakable Phœnician works. Among the latter is a bowl of hybrid style, like those found on Cyprus, having the figure of the Chaldæan goddess with hands at her breasts, in combination with Egyptian gods. Another fragment is a silver relief, on which puffy, winged animals are scattered unpleasantly over the surface.²⁴²

The glimpse which we obtain into the art of the seventh century, through these monuments discovered at Olympia, reveals to us the Greek artist wrestling with the Oriental patterns he had about him. Furtwängler has admirably shown, by comparing the Olympia griffins (Figs. 82 and 83) with those of the Phœnicians (Fig. 60), how the Greek during the seventh century had remoulded so humble a motive as the griffin's head, a subject received originally

from the Semites. We see the prosaic Phœnician design become an independent, if not beautiful, creation. The griffin's beak is fiercely opened, his bald head crowned with large ears, and his tame wings are now changed, and made to curl boldly upward.²⁴³

Other fragments of bronze relief found at Olympia seem also to tell the whole story of the passage of Oriental technique and forms to Greek soil, and the development there of an organic national art, which gave expression to its own peculiar inherited types. We have spoken of the various ancient methods of metal-working, hammering into hollow moulds, stamping designs on to thin sheets, and lastly, the most artistic of all, the hammering-out of the desired composition with a free hand (*sphyrelaton*), a technique which will be seen always continued to be practised, and was carried to its highest perfection in such great works as the bronzes of Siris, now in the British Museum, one of which is



Fig. 82. Griffin's Head in Bronze, found at Olympia. Berlin.

to be seen in the Selections from Ancient Sculpture supplementing this work, Plate XII. That these Olympian plates of beaten metal did not exist independently, but served for the incrustation of wood, and perhaps sometimes of stone or terra-cotta, appears from the wood in several cases found still clinging to the fragments. We must imagine these metallic fragments as still covering sacred objects, in order to conceive the impression they originally made. This was the case with a large bronze relief found in Olympia (Fig. 83), ninety centimeters high, and thirty-five centimeters wide, once the cover of a standard. It is placed by Curtius in the latter half of the seventh century B.C.²⁴⁴ The surface is divided into four rows of varying width. On the upper row are three eagles, — two confronting one another, and

a third belonging to a second pair, but sundered from its mate. This device, although reminding of the heraldic figures of Asia Minor and the Mykene graves, shows us the noble bird more freely treated, and is tolerably successful in rendering nature. In the second row the Oriental griffins approach one another with fiercely opened jaws and curled-up wings, after the true Greek style; while the background is dotted with points suggestive of the influence of the weaver's art. These two rows of purely decorative figures are, however, subordinated to the representations of a hero and a goddess in the remaining rows. The old, meaningless, decorative style is yielding before scenes of deeper import. Thus on the third row is a favorite mythic scene among early Greek artists. A centaur is being chased by Heracles, who, according to story, hunted through the forests of the peninsula whole hordes of wild centaurs. In the true laconic style of ancient art, one tree here suggests a forest, and one single centaur implies a troop. But how crude the monster's shape! the hinder half of a horse at full speed is joined to a full human figure, limping and halting. Here Heracles wears as yet no Oriental symbols, lion's skin, and

club, but, like any hunter, is armed simply with bow and short sword. His short breeches remind one of the lion-hunters on the Mykene swords, and his pose is similar to that of the archers there (Fig. 80). The wounded centaur is also no Oriental creation, but, doubtless, traceable for his origin, as we have seen, to the old Aryan symbolism, and has not yet been moulded by art into an agreeable homogeneous whole. Below, on the broadest row of the relief, is a goddess of strange character, probably Artemis, holding in each hand a growling lion, over whom she seems to have won the victory. The same scheme, in which birds are held, appears on some of the island gems; and there is much reason to believe, that here we have not an Oriental, but a very ancient Iranian, goddess, who, however, in this cruel and harsh type, should not hold her own, but disappear before the elevating and mollifying influence of Greek art.²⁴⁵ It is a significant fact, that, after the age of archaic forms, she disappears altogether, but is met with again on later bronzes and vases.

The oldest images of the gods were believed by the Greeks to have been of wood. Often, according to oldest tradition, they fell directly from heaven to mortals, or traced their origin to mythic heroes, like Danaos and Orestes. Ancient travellers describe them as sometimes seated, sometimes standing with legs stiffly united, arms clinging to the sides, eyes tightly closed, and as carrying attributes. Such idols were looked upon as shrines in which the deity took up his abode; and the story was, that they sometimes chained down the image, lest the god take flight.

A greater degree of life seems to have been given these idols by a covering of paste and glaring color: thus we learn, that Dionysos and Pan were painted red, and Athena white. Many services described by ancient writers, as well as noticed in inscriptions, show that these images were the objects of a complicated ritual: they were washed, clothed in gay apparel, and decorated with crowns, diadems, necklaces, and ear-pendants. Often, in later times, a magnificent wardrobe formed a part of the temple treasure. On the occurrence of the Panathenaic festival at Athens, the old Athena was clad anew in a *peplos* woven by Athenian women; and at Elis the same ceremony was performed for the ancient image of Hera.²⁴⁶ In addition to wooden idols, there seem also to have existed



Fig. 83. Bronze Incrustation for Standard of Sacred Vessel. Olympia.

images in terra-cotta, equally primitive in their style. These figures of the gods in terra-cotta statuettes, many of which are now in Athens, are sometimes so formless, that it is difficult to trace in them the human figure.

Moreover, the different deities do not seem to have been clearly defined in the older art, as we are accustomed to find them later. Thus, in the old terra-cotta figures, all female deities alike have on the head a strange pad, which seems to be a primitive *stephane*, to indicate, perhaps, their sex. On a very old Attic vase, although we read the name Athena over against a goddess, still she is not individualized in attribute or form.²⁴⁷ The *modius*, *calathos*, and mural crown, used later to distinguish the different goddesses, seem here all merged in this one primitive coronet.²⁴⁸ The flower later appropriate to Aphrodite was borne by figures accompanied by the lion and other symbols: the pomegranate seems to have belonged as much to Athena and Hera as to Aphrodite. Even in the oldest terra-cotta figures of Athena in Athens, now on the Acropolis, the goddess wears under her helmet the *polos*; and the head, which, according to inscriptions, is a Hecate, receives a helmet, to become an Athena.²⁴⁹ But as the local myths became more pronounced, and traditions clustered around each god, their peculiar differences were marked in form and feature; and symbols emphasized their individuality, as is strikingly illustrated in the monuments. So the Greek gods came to be more sharply defined in their thought and attributes, and the same god assumed a new garb with every new shrine and local place of worship.

From these nameless fragments of bronze tripods, standards, vases, and crude tiny images, revealing the very early artists' efforts, we may turn to the literary notices of monuments of a similar character, but enjoying a wider fame.

First in chronological order comes a monument from Corinth, that great trade-centre of early days. This work is known as the Chest of Kypselos, and was seen by Pausanias and Dio Chrysostom in the Temple of Hera, at Olympia.²⁵⁰ It was said to have been consecrated in remembrance of the deliverance of the infant Kypselos, who, having been concealed in it from his foes, was thus preserved to become the future tyrant of Corinth (657-629 B.C.). The work was probably executed much earlier than the days of this Corinthian tyrant; Pausanias conjectured that the epigram upon it was by one Eumelos of Corinth, of about 760 B.C. It was of cedar, and decorated with figures of gold and ivory, and with still others carved out of the wood. Very ancient letters, difficult for Pausanias to read, accompanied the various scenes. The statement that the figures were carved out of the wood, seems to indicate that at least partial inlaying, after the manner of the Mykene swords, was the technique used, and not mere surface application of the gold and ivory. The chest appears to have stood against the temple-wall, and to have had cover, sides, and front decorated.^{250a} Five parallel rows, probably of unequal width, one

above the other, consisting of mythological scenes, formed its decoration; the legends, as on vases, being attached in difficult archaic writing. The subjects appear to have been taken from various poetic cycles following certain older types. There were scenes from the myth of Pelops and Oinomaos, the varied story of Amphiaraos, the funereal games of Pelias, and the attack of Menelaos on Helen. The singing Muses and Apollo himself were pictured there, Atlas carrying the earth, besides Ares armed, and Thetis followed by Peleus. Heracles also was to be seen, struggling with the Hydra, and, again, fighting with the centaurs, who had legs of man and horse, and some of whom had fallen. Besides were many other mythic figures, one of which was an Artemis, holding in one hand a panther, and in the other a lion, and wearing wings enigmatical to the devout Pausanias. A parallel to this Artemis may be noticed in the Olympia relief (Fig. 83), as well as to Heracles and the centaurs.

The fact that mythic scenes occupied the whole surface of this costly chest, shows that poetry was fast crowding out the mere decorative art of older times, and was throwing its halo about common and well-known types. The arrangement of the scenes, according to Pausanias' description, shows, moreover, that the whole was well planned, with that order and correspondence of parts so characteristic of later Greek art. In the parallel rows, one above the other, the centre seems to have been occupied by the most important groups, which were balanced by others at the corners. Of the forms of its gods and heroes, which must have been exceedingly rude, we may, perhaps, obtain some idea from votive tablets of terra-cotta, and sheets of pressed gold, found at Corinth, and now in the Berlin Museum, but as yet unpublished. The famous François vase in Florence, covered with the same subjects as the Kypselos chest, and accompanied by inscriptions in the early Attic alphabet, may indicate the style of these old pictures in gold and ivory, and was doubtless imported from Attica to Etruria, where it was found.²⁵¹

A costly offering dedicated by the Samians to their goddess Hera, after a successful mercantile expedition in 632 B.C., is said to have cost one-tenth of the profits of the voyage, — six talents.²⁵² It is described as a colossal mixing-vessel, having around the top griffins' heads, doubtless like those which decorated the edge of vessels found at Olympia. Underneath were three immense kneeling bronze figures, which it is difficult to picture to ourselves.

Thus the shadowy records combine with recent discoveries to show, that, in those early days, a juvenile Greek art, remoulding time-honored motives, was industriously beautifying caldron, tripod, casket, and sacred utensil, but ventured little beyond this decorative field.

In literature, there is scarcely a notice of images of the gods as existing before the sixth century B.C. One such, however, seems to have been a colossal figure of beaten gold consecrated at Olympia, before Olymp. 38 (628 B.C.), by some member of the Kypselos family. The story is, that, to defray the expense

of this costly image, the wealthy Corinthians were compelled to sacrifice a large portion of their property.²⁵³

Of artists of this era after 700 B.C., a few historical names here and there appear, connected principally with inventions. Of these men, Pausanias and others give us but stray notices ; the gay web of tradition having woven around them that veil of poetry so inseparable from Greek history. One of these early names is that of Dibutades of Sikyon, who resided and worked in Corinth, and became famous on account of improvements in moulding in clay ; in fact, was even said to have discovered this art.²⁵⁴ But that it had long been practised among the Greeks is clear, since even Hesiod speaks of a figure of Pandora as having been formed of clay. When, however, about the middle of the seventh century, Corinth became a flourishing emporium for earthen-ware, improvements, no doubt, were introduced ; and these were ascribed to the old potter of Sikyon. He is said to have adorned the exterior of buildings with tiles in the shape of masks, and to have added color to the pale material. Were such a piece of painted terra-cotta decoration to be discovered near Corinth, light would be thrown on Dibutades' achievements, such as recent excavations have thrown on artists in Olympia and Sicily by similar works there found.²⁵⁵

Another artist, one Glaucos, said by some to have been a native of Chios, and by others of Samos, became celebrated in connection with working in metal at this early date. According to Greek tradition, he discovered the art of welding or soldering iron, thus supplanting the more primitive method of riveting together the different pieces. An iron standard by him, executed after this manner, was seen by Pausanias in Delphi.²⁵⁶ It had, he says, the shape of a tower, larger at the bottom : on it stood a vase, or *lebes*, of silver, decorated with small aquatic birds and plants, and consecrated at Delphi by the Lydian king, Alyattes. Glaucos' enigmatical tower-standard is more easily understood since the late discovery of Phœnician bowls, and may be suggested by the representation of the tower-shaped standard on a silver bowl found at Palestrina (Fig. 62). The standard here supports a vessel, before which sits a figure in Assyrian garb, perhaps a king, protected by the usual umbrella ; an interesting fact, proving that the fashion of some of the Greek temple furniture, at that early day, was probably borrowed from the Orient ; while the aquatic birds and plants seem a direct product of the earlier native art of the islands (see p. 146).

Working in metals was to be still more improved upon by Rhoicos and Theodoros of Samos, who, according to the self-satisfied Greek tradition, invented casting in bronze. On the neighboring island of Chios, the use of marble is said to have been introduced by Melas, who lived as early as 660 B.C., and ushers us into the age when sculpture in marble, under the influence of the gifted Ionians, should enter upon its glorious career.

ARCHAIC GREEK SCULPTURE.

FROM ABOUT 600 B.C. TO ABOUT 450 B.C.

CHAPTER XII.

BEGINNINGS AND GROWTH OF SCULPTURE IN MARBLE DURING THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.: ASIA MINOR AND THE ISLANDS.

Introductory Historical Sketch. — Increase of Temple Structures. — Marble, Bronze, and Chryselephantine Statuary. — Athletes. — The Ionians. — Decline of Asia Minor. — Colonization. — Changes in Society. — Characteristics of Art. — Geographical Division. — Ionian Art in Asia Minor and the Islands. — Artists. — Bathycles' Throne. — Bion of Clazomenai. — Endoios. — Monuments from Asia Minor. — Statues at Branchidæ. — Temple Sculptures at Ephesos. — Sculpture at Assos. — Lykian Sculpture. — Harpy Monument. — Character of its Art. — The Islands. — Naxian and Parian Marble. — Artists. — Statues by Naxian Artists. — Statue found on Delos, dedicated to Artemis. — Characteristics of these Naxian Works. — Colossus at Delos. — Small Bronze from Naxos. — Bronze *Patina*. — Relief by Alxenor. — Statues from Thera. — Statues found on Delos. — Contrast to Works Found at Athens. — Sculptures on Chios. — Archermos. — Statue of Nike. — Artists at Samos. — Rhoicos and Theodoros. — Theodoros' Works. — Samian Sculptures.

WITH the waning years of the seventh century B.C., and the beginning of the sixth, art among the Greek peoples seems to have assumed greater proportions and more enduring form. Costly temples of great extent, in stone and marble, were now built, whose ruins at Samos, Ephesos, Miletos, and Assos testify to the activity in architecture along the Asia-Minor coast. The Temple of Hera, at Olympia, gives evidence of the transformation, at this time, of older wooden buildings into structures of stone. In sculpture, too, new life is evident; the perishable wooden material being slowly supplanted by marble, which now started upon its career under the magic touch of the facile Ionians.

Masters of name and fame now appear on the stage; and marble monuments abound, whose age is borne witness to by their primitive character, and the archaic letters of their inscriptions.²⁵⁷ Decorative art and the construction of costly vessels no longer chiefly employed the artists' attention, but marble, bronze, and chryselephantine statues of the gods. Monuments found in the ancient shrines testify to this encouragement of a higher art. The human figure, no longer a mere accessory, now assumes an importance, as far as we know, foreign to the spirit of the Orient. In the course of a few decades, statues, commemorative of the victorious athletes, begin to people the holy groves at Olympia; the first, which were of wood, being put up, according to Pausanias, towards Olymp. 59 (about 544 B.C.),²⁵⁸ from which time their number rapidly increased, the material, however, being changed to bronze.

The Greek world during this century presents the spectacle of a ripened civilization clasping hands with material prosperity. In the fore-front stand the artistic Ionians, favored by their natural gifts, and their closer intercourse with Asia and Egypt. Ionian soldiers in the hire of Psammetichos had pierced the heart of the Nile valley, and scratched their names on the colossi of Rameses at Aboo-Simbel. At Sais there was a vigorous Greek settlement, having a common temple and the regular worship of the Greek gods. Here the merchants from Miletos had their Apollo temple, and the Samians and Æginetans each their special shrines. Greek mercenaries, doubtless from the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands, served under the Chaldaean Nebuchadnezzar (604 B.C.), among whom was the brother of Alcaios, Sappho's poet-lover. The intercourse of the Greek cities with the Lydian princes was a lively one. Alyattes and Cræsus sent consecrated gifts, the works of Greek masters, to far-off Delphi. But the rising Persian power now gradually spread westward; and the Greek cities of the Asia-Minor coast, towards the close of the century, felt its encroaching influence, which forced their population to leave their homes, and thus disseminate their culture westward.²⁵⁹ Colonization still continued; and, from the older lands, there seems to have been an uninterrupted exodus to the prosperous new states, with which an active commerce was kept up. Wares from the mother-lands were exported, to be spread far and wide. Thus bronzes and vases were, without doubt, sent to the colonies in Southern Italy, and even to Etruria. The same is true of the trade of Corinth, for its vases have been found in great numbers in Etruscan tombs.

In the political world, although tyrants still ruled in many cities, the spirit of freedom was fermenting in society. Polycrates of Samos (532 B.C.), and Peisistratos of Athens (560-527 B.C.), by popular laws, were it only from self-interest, served the well-being of their states, and encouraged what was attractive and beautiful. Philosophers began to ponder on deep and unknown things. Pythagoras (530 B.C.), leaving the oppressive atmosphere of the tyrant's court at Samos, removed to Croton in Southern Italy, where he soon gathered earnest and enthusiastic scholars. At the same time Xenophanes, from Colophon in Asia Minor, found a quiet home in Elea, near the bay of Naples, and there expounded his theories, and established an important school. The Homeric songs, transmitted orally from father to son, were, perhaps, now collected, and committed to writing. Epic poetry was, however, a thing of the past; and drama, young and strong, now put on its mask, and mounted the stage; while lyric verse found a cordial welcome at the courts of the tyrants. There the merry Anacreon composed his songs of love and mirth; Simonides, from Keos, sang the praises of the great; and Lasos, from Hermione, instructed the youthful and high-born Pindar (521-441 B.C.); while Stesichoros, the great innovator, who lived in Sicily, was equally at home in Hellas and Ionia. Athletic games in all parts of the land trained the youth to graceful skill, and inured to hardship.

This was a time when strength without arrogance, modesty and submission, combined with noble pride, prevailed among the people. The faith in the gods of their fathers was deep and sincere, inspiring to acts of devotion. Many are the stories related which testify to a high tone of life and morals at this time; of sons who made great sacrifices for their mothers; of mothers who offered their sons for the welfare of the country; the climax of this devotion being reached in the heroism exhibited during the Persian war.

In art, there was corresponding life. Literary records, as well as inscriptions, teach us that on the islands Chios, Samos, Naxos, Crete, and Paros, and along the coasts of Asia Minor, the earliest historical Greek sculptors were active, some of whom wandered to the mainland of Greece, there to practise their calling, and, in one case at least, to gather together a large band of scholars. Many of their works were executed for the very ancient shrines of Ephesos, Samos, Delos, Delphi, and Olympia, where they were seen by the ancients; and, among the large number of monuments preserved, isolated cases may be traced to these old sculptors. The artistic character of these extant works varies greatly with the time of their execution and the place of their discovery. Consequently both the chronological and the geographical sides of the varied scenes they present must be considered, in order to catch subtle and shifting peculiarities. If we look through the glass offered us by time, we find that sculptures, which, as we know from their inscriptions, — those sure gauges of age, — are the creations of the early part of the sixth century, vary greatly from those of the latter part. Many monuments have, however, no inscriptions; and consequently variations in the style alone are left to aid us in giving them their place in the great stream of history. But greater crudity of style is not always a sure indication of age: since some monuments executed at a late day, as we know, are as crude as those of an earlier day; instance Dermys and Kitylos, from Boeotia. Consequently great precautions are necessary in dating monuments which have no inscriptions. Local influences, arising from geographical site and race peculiarities, giving a varied coloring to the creations of different parts of the ancient world, claim a large share of our attention. While there is no doubt that artists moved about, and that men from very different parts executed works for the great central shrines now found together in what to us is perplexing confusion, still there is reason to believe, that, as a whole, there were great local peculiarities in the works of each section of the country. Thus, for instance, the Ionians, that race artistically so gifted, who were spread along the Asia-Minor coast, and occupied the islands and northern parts of Greece and Attica itself, seem in these different parts to have worked differently; and it is one of the glorious tasks of modern archæology, to trace out the affinities, and discover the varying shades of coloring, in the monuments found on such different sites. By so doing, little by little our picture of those old days gains

light and shadow ; and those monuments which, when isolated from native time and clime, are mere *bric-à-brac*, meaningless curiosities, at once begin to glow again with the life and interest of other days. We find, by comparing them, that in all there is a feeling, more or less vigorous, after something better, — a searching for the ideal and beautiful ; and these otherwise mute figures reveal to us the strivings and aspirations of a gifted people, whose fancy was subjected to most varied influences. The geographical element, then, being so strong, we may, in considering the monuments, attempt to combine it with the chronology. We shall, consequently, take up the monuments according to different sites, in each case considering them in order of age, and then, by references back and forth between the different types and sites, attempt to show great family resemblances.

Among the monuments preserved from the sixth century, those from the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands, Delos, Naxos, Paros, and Samos, first claim attention, inasmuch as these parts were the seats of the oldest culture, and the homes of the earliest historical sculptors.

Along the western shores of Asia Minor, there are many indications of the sculptor's activity in this century, when the old Ionian civilization was at its height, and Miletos, Ephesos, and Samos played an important part in the world's history. The evidence is not lacking, that this Ionian influence spread southward and northward. The Ionian style of writing was adopted, even by the Dorian people of Rhodes and Halicarnassos ; and Ionian art apparently flooded Lykia. Other branches of it seem to have been developed on the islands and the northern coasts of Greece, and, indeed, to have been the spring of artistic activity in Attica itself, that land destined to cast its predecessors so into the shade, that the parent-stock has been well-nigh lost out of sight. Recent important discoveries on the islands and in Asia Minor are, however, slowly opening up this remote past, and showing us its true significance for later times, by revealing the sources of their inspiration.

Few, indeed, are the names of sculptors of this age preserved to us from Asia Minor ; but they suffice to make an historical background for the existing monuments. One of these men, Bathycles of Magnesia, with fellow-workmen, went over to Greece, to erect a throne for a very ancient Apollo statue at Amyclai, near Sparta.²⁶⁰ This throne was not for a seated statue, but for the rude ancient pillar of bronze, with head, arms, and feet attached, the image of the local Apollo possibly, represented on coins.²⁶¹ It stood towering 13.72 meters (45 feet) above a sacred spot, the grave of Hyakinthos, a young prince, said to have been a favorite of Apollo, and accidentally killed by the god in a game. The throne of Bathycles corresponded in its proportions to the statue, and was so extensive, that it could be entered and inspected like a dwelling.

The figures and reliefs adorning it represented scenes from the lives of the gods and heroes ; but Pausanias' description is so incomplete, that it is impossible to form an idea of their material or arrangement.²⁶²

Interest attaches to this mysterious structure, since the subjects were taken from the full-flowing stream of epic poetry ; although Bathycles also represented himself and his comrade sculptors on the arms of the throne. We see in this work sculpture at last brought into the more direct service of the god, no longer merely decking a weapon or votive casket, but adorning the very throne occupied by the representation of the deity himself. In thanks for the completion of this work, Bathycles erected a figure of Artemis Leucophryne, a favorite goddess of his native land, as well as figures of the Charites, or Graces.²⁶³

One Bion, from Clazomenai, is also mentioned from this time ; and on very ancient statues found at Miletos occur the names of the sculptors Eudemos and Terpsicles.²⁶⁴

The sculptor Endoios also, although in tradition called Attic, and long resident in Attica, was, doubtless, a native of the older Ionian land. His works were in several cities of Ionia. Thus a colossal figure in wood of Athena Polias, at Erythrai, in Asia Minor, accompanied by marble Hours and Graces, in the temple-court, as well as an Artemis at Ephesos, were all by him. He was, however, like Bathycles, active in Greece itself ; and his works appear in Attica, where was found the pedestal of a tombstone statue, probably seated, of an Ionian lady, Lampito, which bears this artist's name in an Ionian epigram, and clearly proves his origin.²⁶⁵

First to be considered among the monuments found on Asia-Minor soil, are those from the great Temple of Apollo, in the neighborhood of old and wealthy Miletos, where there was a very ancient oracle of the god, over which presided his reputed descendants, the family of the Branchidæ. In 1857 Mr. Newton was so fortunate as to discover statues and other monuments which lined each side of the Sacred Way leading up to the temple, in the manner of sphinxes and seated figures before Egyptian temples. This road, commencing at a short distance from the Temple of Apollo, was traced for a distance of about 530 meters (580 yards), in a north-west direction, towards the ancient port Panormos. On its discovery, it was bounded by basements, statues, and stone coffins, many of which still remain.²⁶⁶ The eight seated figures from this Sacred Road, now in the British Museum, are, indeed, among the most important specimens of early Greek sculpture in marble, and doubtless show us the capabilities of the early Ionian masters (Fig. 84). Judging from the ancient inscribed characters on their thrones, and from the very archaic cast of the statues themselves, it is supposed that they were executed between 580 and 520 B.C. On one is to be read the dedication, "I am Chares, son of Clesis, ruler of Teichiusa, an offering to Apollo ;" and it is probable that the re-

maining figures likewise represent devotees, perhaps priests and priestesses of Apollo.

The pose of all these temple dignitaries is constrained and conventional: the arms cling to the bodies, the hands rest rigidly upon the knees, and the settled, unwieldy forms seem overburdened with fat; while there is much about the feet calling to mind Chaldæan statues (compare Fig. 41).²⁶⁷ The elaborate under-garments fall in narrow, perpendicular folds: the outer dress is laid in broad parallel divisions, which do not suggest the massive bodies they cover. But, on comparing these statues with one another, a most interesting advance



Fig. 84. Four of the Seated Statues from the Sacred Road near Miletos. British Museum.

may be noticed. The artists are feeling their way for something better in the forms; and the drapery in the latest member of the group, the first in the cut, is in great contrast to that of the others.

Although these Miletos statues once lined a sacred way, after the mode of Egypt; and although their bulky forms may suggest Assyrian types, like the clumsy, flabby, seated figure of Shalmaneser, from Kalah Shergat, now in the British Museum, — yet their greater naturalness and evident progress is strikingly Greek; and we may, doubtless, recognize in them, as in a kindred statue from Samos (Fig. 96), what may be called an old Ionian style. In the Louvre, also, there are several specimens of this old sculpture in marble from Miletos.²⁶⁸

We may mention with these hoary remains, as also probable products of this Ionian art, the fragments of sculpture discovered by Mr. Wood among the ruins of the ancient temple to Artemis at Ephesos, and now in the archaic room of the British Museum. This Asiatic goddess had early been adopted into the Greek religion; and her costly temple was built by Chersiphron, a Cretan architect, doubtless about Olymp. 50 (580 B.C.), when wealth had been accumulated in a largely developed commerce, and was being employed in building temples, and making costly decorations.²⁶⁹ The epoch-making Temple of Hera was now built on the neighboring Samos, by the Samians Rhoicos and Theodoros; and that of Apollo at Branchidæ, near Miletos, received costly offerings, even from Neco, king of Egypt, after his conquest of Josiah, king of Judah, at Megiddo.

The expense of many of the pillars of the temple at Ephesos was borne by the rich Lydian Cræsus (560 to 546 B.C.), who also consecrated golden bulls at this shrine.²⁷⁰ The remarkable archaic remains there discovered by Mr. Wood consist of a series of reliefs, and of fragments of lions' heads, which once decorated the architecture. These lions' heads, though strongly conventional, show much fire, and still have marks of the color, principally red, that once enlivened their surface.

The most interesting, by far, of these sculptures are, however, the reliefs with figures about life-size, which seem to be wrought upon the drums of the temple-columns. The discovery was made by Mr. Wood, that the later Temple of Artemis, built in the fourth century, was also supported by columns having the lower part sculptured in relief.²⁷¹ The archaic reliefs, circling a circumference of about five meters and a half, correspond in size to these later works; so that there can be little doubt that they supported the old temple, and were, most probably, the very contributions made by Cræsus, and mentioned by Herodotos. Unfortunately, these ancient columns are so badly injured that it is impossible to divine the subjects represented upon them, only single figures being partially preserved. The prevalent custom in Mesopotamia and Phœnicia of coating wooden members of the architecture, such as columns, doors, or walls, with metal beaten out into artistic shapes (called *empaistic*), spread, there can be no doubt, to Asia Minor; reference being made to it, as we have seen, in Homeric verse. Another step was the imitating in stone of such work; and discoveries in Olympia show most clearly, that, little by little, the more perishable material, wood, was being thus supplanted in stone or marble, on which the protecting coating was, however, not omitted.²⁷² These remarkable archaic sculptures from Ephesos, which once surrounded the base of the old temple-columns, seem a reminiscence of such metallic coating over the older wooden pillar, here, at last, metamorphosed into marble. This influence of metal seems also evident in the style of these reliefs. Their lack of vigor, especially in the rendering of the eye, may be the

result of an attempt to copy the smoother surface of metal in the indurate stone. Although more advanced than the older of the Miletos statues discussed above, still they have the same flabbiness, and lack of energetic detail, and in some cases, in addition, a high polish, like that of ivory. The abundant ornaments and the care expended upon the profuse drapery seem outgrowths of a luxuriousness such as we know from literature characterized Asiatic Ionians, in distinction from their kindred of the mainland of Greece itself. The very decoration of the base of columns with relief is itself an extravagance in ornamentation, a contrast to the simpler, more energetic architecture of Greece proper, and also points to the strong influence of luxurious Oriental tastes which appear to have tinged the artistic creations of Asia Minor down to latest days. May renewed excavations on the site of old Ephesos teach us much more of the ancient art of this important centre of Ionian civilization, and throw needed light upon its tentative beginnings!

Turning to the north, we should find, that opposite smiling Lesbos at Assos, according to tradition an *Æolic* colony, most interesting specimens of sculpture, dealing with very archaic subjects, have been laid bare. The summary researches of the French on this spot before 1838, when many sculptures were removed to the Louvre, have been thoroughly continued by the *Archæological Institute of America* in 1881; but the full results of this latter expedition await their complete publication, a temporary report alone having as yet appeared.

These sculptures are in a coarse stone of the neighborhood, as has been proved by the last excavations, and adorned the temple which stood on the summit of the old acropolis at Assos. They decorated, not only the metopes of this Doric structure, but, contrary to all analogies in the architecture of Greece proper, enlivened the usually plain blocks of the epistyle, directly above the massive columns, in the form of a disconnected frieze.²⁷³ Long ago the great Semper called attention to the fact, that these sculptures crowning the epistyle could be nothing else than an imitation in stone of the protecting coat of beaten metal applied to the wooden parts of primitive buildings. Semper supported his theory by analogies from Etruria, that land where early Ionic art had such great influence, and traced this practice back to its remote source in the far East.²⁷⁴ The subjects represented at Assos also support his theory; the wild animals of Oriental art, such as lions and sphinxes, and the Chaldæan fish-monster, being here, although so interwoven with active Greek myth, that the whole seems moulded into a new and independent creation. In the blocks in the Louvre appear lions in the act of devouring deer, bucking steers, winged sphinxes, galloping centaurs with fore and hind feet hoofed, and many loungers at a feast; besides, the serious contest of Heracles with a semi-fish and semi-human being, doubtless the wise ocean-god Halios Geron

(Fig. 85). From the tumult of the contest several small, frightened females are fleeing.

The form of the sea-god is that of the comfortable Babylonian and Assyrian fish-deity, but is here, as on the "island stones," so grappled with by Heracles, as to present more than mere passive existence. This peculiar grouping seems, moreover, to have been a typical mode of representation with the older artists, who, as we know from the analogy of vases, long followed closely certain received types. This very strained grouping, and attempt to represent in a narrow space action which consequently becomes exaggerated, appear also in a satyr of a frieze discovered at Xanthos in Lykia, and now in the British Museum, where the horse-tailed satyr struggles with an animal, perhaps a boar, in exactly the same pose as does Heracles with this sea-god. But how amusing the means here used to fill out the whole space of the relief, and avoid the vacuum always so abhorred by Greek relief! This is here accomplished by

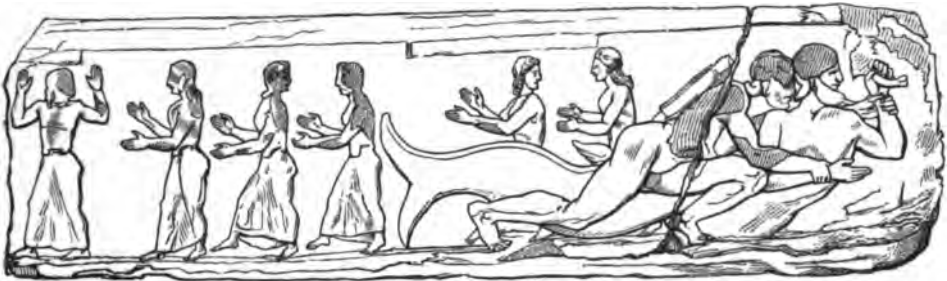


Fig. 85. Part of Frieze from Temple of Assos. Heracles struggling with Sea-god. Louvre.

giving the bended Heracles, the sea-god, and the figures reposing at a feast, a height equal to the fleeing females and diminutive cup-bearers, even though they thus become disproportionately large. Not the least important discovery made by the American expedition was that of a scene from genuine Greek myth, which formed a part of this varied frieze, and is still in Assos (Fig. 86). It represents another of the deeds of Heracles, who, as in the Olympia relief (Fig. 83), is shooting at centaurs fleeing before him. Unlike the other centaurs from this temple, these, following the early type, have fully human bodies in front: while Heracles, also following an archaic type, is still armed with his bow alone; the lion's skin and club of later art not being as yet adopted by the sculptor. Heracles is here probably accompanied by Iolaos, the faithful companion of his troubled life, who follows with a drinking-cup, to indicate, perhaps, the wine that maddened the semi-brutes, and led them to deeds of violence. These scenes call to mind, not only in subject, but also in treatment, those on vases of *bucchero nero*, found in Etruria, which seem the reflex of such genuine Greek works.

Judging from the character of those Assos reliefs which are now in the Louvre, they are the genuine products of an early and tentative art, and, in

the strange connection with the Doric architecture they adorned, appear to be the efforts of a people beginning to feel its way to something better, but still holding on to old received traditions. In view of such marked peculiarities, they have been considered the work of the sixth century B.C. From the better execution of a very few fragments recently discovered, and from certain peculiarities of the architecture as compared with that of Sicily, Mr. Clarke of the American expedition has, however, advanced the theory, that the temple and its sculptures are the products of a late and provincial Asia-Minor school, and cannot date from before the close of the Persian war, and perhaps may be assigned to the first half of the fifth century B.C. Unhappily, neither photographs nor casts as yet exist, from which alone those who have not seen the originals can form an adequate judgment as to the artistic superiority of the few new fragments. The large number of these sculptures, however, in the Louvre, present a peculiar mode of composition, which very much militates against the new

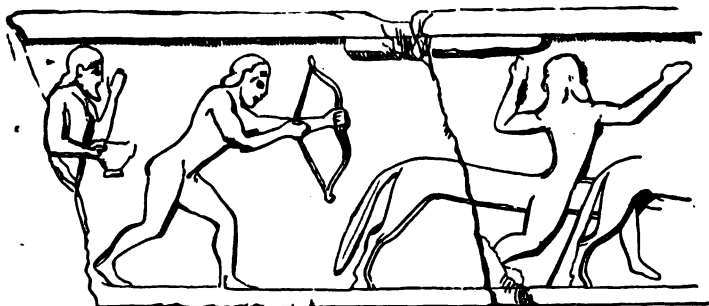


Fig. 86. Part of Temple Frieze. Assos. Heracles and Centaurs.

theory. Besides, it is questionable whether the analogy drawn between this architecture of Asia Minor and that of far-off Sicily can be of service in deciding the difficult question of age.

The recent discoveries at Olympia have shown, that in architecture the development was very different at the same time in different places; and it is most probable that in Assos, close to the hearthstones of old Ionian culture, architecture developed earlier than in far-off Sicily. The facts, that during the early part of the sixth century B.C., great stone and marble temples were being built in Asia Minor and the islands, and that Assos, so far as historical information goes, was then the largest and strongest city of the Troad, strengthen the view that this highly decorated and ambitious temple to the gods was raised during that early age of the city's prime. Even should it be granted that the temple at Assos is of late date, its sculptures could only be reminiscences of an earlier age; and as through late Etruscan works we may gain a knowledge of older genuine Greek originals, so these sculptures would only show us earlier sources whence they were derived, especially as they have much in common with the old red-ware vases found on Rhodes and elsewhere. But a sight of

the sculptures themselves, as well as a fuller knowledge of the details of the architecture, will, we may hope, yet throw decisive light on this most interesting question.

To the south of ancient Ionia, on the coasts of Asia Minor, lies Lykia, a country which in Homeric verse plays an important part. It was inhabited, not by Greeks, but by a people near of kin, as their language shows.²⁷⁵ It was a land of poetry to the Greeks, the home of their sun-god. The hills and valleys teem with sculpture, for the most part connected with the tombs, and were first made known by Sir Charles Fellows, in 1841. Many of these he removed to the British Museum, and of others he brought thither casts; thus offering to the student a small and distinct art-world in itself. To this rich material for the study of a civilization in many points closely resembling the Greek, the Austrian excavations added still more, under the direction of Bendorff, in 1882.

Lykia offers an art in many points akin to the pure Greek, but not of so fine a quality as that which flourished in Greece itself, although superior, as far as we know it, to the productions of the Cypriotes and Etruscans, which it somewhat resembles. In its later stages, single sculptures, when sundered from their many kindred monuments, have been adjudged pure Attic; while, in its many archaic monuments, the strong influence of old Ionian art may doubtless be traced. The latter was, in some respects, the parent of Attic art also; and these older Lykian monuments have even been attributed to Attic masters.²⁷⁶ But Attica gained its importance in art-matters late in the sixth century B.C., and hence the probability is much stronger that Lykia was affected by the direct influence of the neighboring and more early developed Ionia.

Among the fragments in the British Museum are pieces of sculptural decoration for the architecture, made up of rows of cocks and hens, calling to mind similar reliefs found in Olympia.²⁷⁷ On one relief we see a quaintly exaggerated Bacchic dance; and, in another, a frieze of wild animals of far older style. Here a horse-tailed satyr is struggling with a boar-like animal: and the composition, as noticed above, is very like that of Heracles and the sea-monster of the Assos reliefs; the animals also calling to mind favorite subjects of early semi-Greek art. On a stone chest from a tomb we see, following the true Oriental type, a man stabbing a lion; but the workmanship lacks the perfect technique of older Oriental monuments.

But by far the most extensive and interesting of Xanthos' older remains is the so-called Harpy monument, a high rectangular tower, surmounted by the burial-chamber, the exterior of which was adorned with reliefs in marble (Fig. 87). That tombs of this kind were common in Lykia is evident from the discovery of similar structures in the neighborhood, and at Gjölbaschi, where, however, the archaic figures were sadly injured.²⁷⁸ Different explanations have

been given to the quaint reliefs on the four sides of this tomb-tower at Xanthos, two of which are represented in Fig. 88. Professor Curtius finds in them a reference to the doctrine of immortality.²⁷⁹ The milch cow over the entrance to the grave, he believes, begins the series of pictures contrasting life and death, and is symbolical of life-giving, nurturing force. The seated figures, on each side of the door, are explained as goddesses, — the one being Death, the arm of whose throne is supported by an ominous sphinx; and the other Life, who holds blossoms and fruit, and has supporting the arm of her throne a ram's head, the symbol of the fructifying cloud. Three figures approaching her bring offerings of an egg, a blossom, and a pomegranate, — symbols of the nascent germ of life, its bloom, and ripe fruit. On the other sides of the tomb the



Fig. 87. View of the Lykian Tomb called the "Harpy Monument."

heavy, full form, thrice repeated, Curtius explains as that of a throned divinity, receiving offerings from friends of the departed, and as being the triune god in Heaven, Earth, and the Underworld of Græco-Lykian myth. The little figures borne in the arms of birds with faces and arms of women have been explained as the daughters of Pandaros being carried off by the Harpies, who, as it is told in the "Odyssey," "came, bore off the maids, and gave them to the hateful sisterhood of Furies as their servants." This description corresponds so poorly with the mild, winged figures of this relief, having egg-shaped bodies, that they seem more like good genii, bearing away the little souls of the departed,

whom they press gently to their bosoms, and who in return fondly caress their bearers. A diminutive female, tearing her cheeks in great sorrow, looks up from the lower corner of one relief, and, doubtless, represents one of the bereaved survivors.

But some archæologists have entertained doubts whether this elaborate and beautiful ethical interpretation of the Xanthos monument can truthfully give the views of so early an age as the sixth century B.C.²⁸⁰ The most recent opinion is, that we see here the heroed dead, enthroned and receiving offerings, as in reliefs found in Sparta, where inscriptions remove doubt as to the significance of the seated figures.²⁸¹ In this Xanthos monument male figures receive a helmet, a cock, and a bird; and a seated female receives offerings of pomegranate, egg, and flower; while another extends her hand, as if awaiting an offering.

The reliefs have peculiarities prevalent in archaic art, — long, primly pointed beards, feet planted flat on the ground, a procession-like arrangement of the standing figures, a dainty holding of the drapery and flowers, eyes in profile,

and a disproportionate size of some members. Their nearer analogies are with the works of Miletos and Ephesos; for, with all their quaintness, they are not harsh and precise, like most archaic works from Greece proper.²⁸² There is about them a pleasing quiet and grace, as well as an adaptation to the purposes of decoration, which take captive the eye. The figures seem represented simply as they appear, without the subjection to plastic law seen in the severer works of Ægina and Laconia, or in the lighter, freer forms of Attica. The heavy forms of the throned divinities appear overburdened with fat, and show no exactness in their build. Although the outlines of the backs

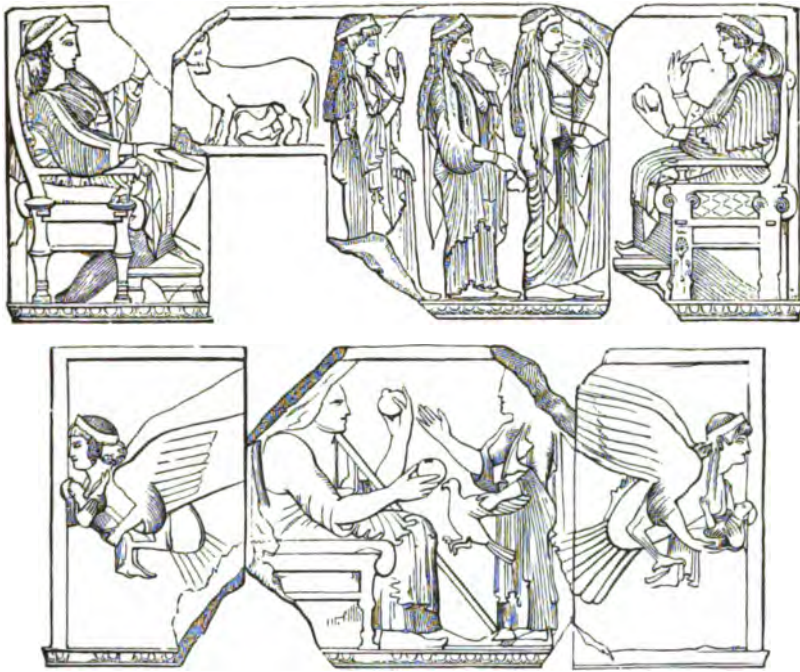


Fig. 88. Reliefs from Two Sides of the so-called "Harpy Monument." British Museum.

of the standing figures are given, their limbs are not even indicated beneath the heavy drapery, peculiarities met with in the statues of Miletos. When one leg is advanced, the other hip is entirely unnoticed, or indifferently indicated. The same lack of plastic truth is evident in the hands and feet, which vary at random in size and detail. The round skulls are likewise of different and uncertain shapes. The seated goddess to the right has what appears to be only a flat layer of hair. Her ear is placed so far back as to be amusingly out of proportion; many of these defects not appearing in the cut, where they have been reduced to correct propriety by the engraver. The female figures are clothed in the long *chiton* of fine stuff, peculiar to the Ionians, which has long, buttoned sleeves, and, in the case of the seated figures, trails, falling stiffly back under the thrones; while over this robe the outer mantle appears

in broad, regular folds. What at first seems ease in these reliefs is rather the lack of that precision which makes the Æginetan marbles so eminently plastic. (Sel., Plate I. and Fig. 119.) Although meeting the demands of simply decorative art, this uncertain treatment throughout must give place to assurance, this heaviness and laxity in detail must be banished, before true and energetic plastic forms can be produced. Unfortunately no inscription hints to us the date of this monument; but its composition and advanced style, compared with neighboring inscribed works, such as those of Miletos, may allow us to place it as late as the latter part of the sixth century B.C. What many of the characteristics of this old Ionian art in Asia Minor must have been, and how greatly it influenced far-off Italy, we are just beginning to learn through numberless long unheeded monuments in Etruria, among which many terra-cottas and the too much underrated *buccherò nero* are most important.

Leaving the coasts of Asia Minor, and passing to the islands, we shall find a rich harvest to reward our search. In the midst of the Ægean are the twin islands Naxos and Paros, the largest of the Kyclades,—mountains of marble, towering up from the blue sea; the quarries of Naxos being scarcely inferior to those of world-renowned Paros.²⁸³ By far the greater part of the statuary discovered on the mainland of Greece, dating from before the age of the Parthenon, is of this Parian or Naxian marble. Its export must have contributed largely to the wealth and importance of these islands before they were overshadowed by the glory of Attica. At least eight varieties of Parian marble are distinguishable; and as in olden times, so now the finest quality is sought, like precious metal, by torchlight in the bowels of the earth,—a practice which gave origin to the name *lychnites* (λυχνίτης), as applied to this stone by Pliny and other writers. The shafts made to extract the precious blocks follow the sinuosities and varying width of the marble veins, and are often so tortuous and confined that it is difficult to understand how the ancients succeeded in bringing out the blocks. The sight of many deserted slabs, still in the quarries, shows that they sometimes miscalculated their ability. In these ancient quarries, recently re-opened by a Greek gentleman of Paros, the tools dropped by the stone-cutters of old are still to be seen, and are found to be like those used to-day. When first brought to light, the finest-grained marble is said to be translucent, but with exposure becomes more opaque, and gains a mellow tone fitted to give the warm glow, and soft, flowing appearance of skin and muscle; its tempting grain, neither too hard nor too soft, inviting the artist's skill.

The earliest artists mentioned as from the twin islands Naxos and Paros are but few, and their fame is overshadowed by later men.²⁸⁴ Byzes of Naxos, and his son Euergos, appear more in the light of improvers of the technique of marble than as sculptors proper.²⁸⁵ One of them boasts, that he was the first

to imitate clay tiles in marble. The name of another artist, Aristion from Paros, of this century, appears in Attica, inscribed on a monument discovered near Athens. The name of Alxenor from Naxos is met with about the end of this century in Bœotia, inscribed on a tombstone of Bœotian marble. At Delphi has recently been discovered a pedestal with the rude feet of a statue of Parian marble, which must have been executed in this century, so crude is the workmanship. According to the inscription, it was executed by a Parian master for a fellow-citizen, who consecrated this work to the gods in Delphi. One Arkesilas and his father Aristodicos from Paros are barely mentioned by the ancients, and, probably, also belong in this century. Arkesilas was a painter, and perhaps also a sculptor. Thus, from these meagre reports, it is evident that the Parian and Naxian masters of this time enjoyed a considerable fame, and had much to do in developing the art of working in marble in neighboring lands as well as at home.

The oldest Naxian monument preserved to us is, doubtless, that unshapely image (Fig. 89) discovered in Delos in 1877 by Homolle, and now on the neighboring island Myconos.²⁸⁶ Its metrical inscription states, that it was dedicated by a lady Nicandra, daughter of Deinodicos of Naxos, to the goddess Artemis. It was discovered in a heap of broken statues before the temple of Apollo, and measures with its base two meters in height, impressing more by its size than its artistic merit. Whether this column-like female figure in long robes represents the lady Nicandra herself, or the goddess Artemis, we do not know; but it is very probable that it is this goddess, who was worshipped with Apollo at Delos. In each hand she held some object, as is evident from the holes; down her back her hair drops in a large mass, in which broad, horizontal waves are indicated; while over her shoulders fall four curls, more like rows of beads than ringlets. So little of the female form is indicated, that we might be in doubt as to her sex, were it not for the long but formless skirt. Originally, however, it was not so plain; since besides the inscription scratched into it, are traces of seven or eight broad stripes of meander pattern painted on the marble just below the girdle.²⁸⁷ The shoulders have much the same width as the skirt, from which the feet only just appear. The stiff arms cling to the sides, the upper part being even reserved in the marble. The torso has so much the form of a flattened tree-trunk, the two sides alone being rounded, that it is easy to suppose this crude work a copy of some old sacred wooden *xoanon*, one of which, an Aphrodite, was seen in Pausanias' time on Delos, and

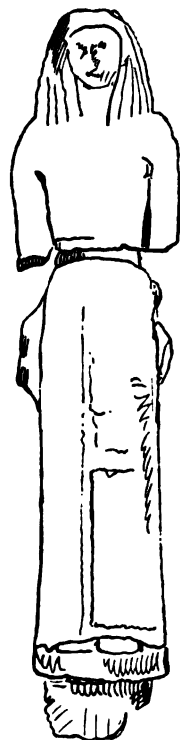


Fig. 89. Statue consecrated at Delos by Nicandra of Naxos. Myconos.

reverently traced by that writer to Daidalos himself.²⁸⁸ This mythical artist, according to story, was active in Crete, famous as the home of such primitive works; and it is possible that the old Cretan works in wood, brought by the earliest colonists from Crete to Paros, so rich in marble, may there have been in time metamorphosed into the nobler material under the influence of the later Ionian settlers. The very archaic forms of the inscribed letters on this ancient offering of a devout Naxian lady, which are to be read from right to left and from left to right in alternate lines (*boustrophedon*), enable archæologists to date this figure as early as 580 B.C., and perhaps even 600 B.C.²⁸⁹

This crude figure is, however, as Furtwängler has shown, but one of a large family, which, during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., were put up as offerings to the gods about the very old shrine on Delos, and, doubtless, then looked upon as great achievements. To us, however, they show the very earliest attempts to represent in marble the female form wrapped in its drapery. In one of these figures the breasts are intimated: another shows an attempt to represent the sinking curve of the back, which features in the Nicandra statue are lacking. A third is a modification of this crude scheme; the left arm being advanced, while the right still clings to the side. This statue is, besides, interesting as having a broad meander border scratched into the marble down the front, and, doubtless, intended to have color in its cavities. It perhaps shows one step in the transformation of the painted or inlaid pattern over into forms more suitable to marble, the ultimate attainment being genuine relief. A similar process is observable with regard to drapery. Folds are at first hollowed out in the marble, only later to be raised, and thus take on a character truer to the actual appearance of nature. This process may be traced on a series of archaic statues in Athens, as well as on several fragments in Delos, in which the folds, from being hollowed out, become cord-like ridges, and are finally flattened out to represent more truly the character of drapery.²⁹⁰ The fact that minor decorations, such as meander borders, ear-rings, necklaces, etc., are not represented in marble in statues of the ripened age from Greece, although appearing in these early works, indicates the development of a rare sense for the truly sculptural in marble, — a sense which is not to be found among other peoples, where every minor detail is unbecomingly passed over into this dignified material.

But, besides this crude attempt of the early Naxians to render the draped female form in marble, there are monuments showing their efforts to represent, in the same material, the nude male form. While the female statues may represent Artemis, there is no doubt, in the light of inscriptions, that some of the male statues show us her brother, the great Apollo, who was conceived as the personification of eternal youth, and whose character incorporated the noblest ethical tendencies of the Greeks. In the open quarries of Naxos, there lies such a colossal nude figure, partially hewn from the rock, and doubtless

abandoned on account of flaws in the marble. It is 10.60 meters high (34 feet) ; and so ample are its members, that Ross and his party, overtaken by night, were able to spread their beds and sleep upon them.²⁹¹ The figure was intended to stand with both feet flat upon the ground, the left slightly in advance. The arms hang by the side, but are advanced from the elbow, doubtless to hold attributes. It may have been planned for the shrine at Delos, where its twin-brother, following the same type, still exists, with an explanatory inscription stating that the Naxians had dedicated it, and boasting that it was of a single stone.²⁹² Two weighty fragments of the sadly mutilated colossus still lie prostrate at Delos, and another from the feet is in the British Museum.²⁹³ The god here had long hair ; and the arms, clinging to the sides, were, as in the Naxian colossus, raised from the elbows, doubtless once holding attributes. Across the shoulders the width of the figure is 2.20 meters ; and on the flat, expansive chest, devoid of all detail except about the collar-bones, a dance could easily be performed. The traces of an ancient girdle are also evident about the waist of this unwieldy and uncouth figure. The same is found on many very archaic figures in bronze and terra-cotta, found on Greek soil, as well as on some of the ancient "island stones," where it forms part of a garment, like short bathing-breeches.²⁹⁴ The best-preserved sample of this costume is seen on a small bronze from Crete, but we see it also on the Heracles relief from Olympia (Fig. 83). It calls to mind the reports about the oldest costume of men, who, according to tradition, wore an apron-like garment, mentioned in connection with the earliest athletes in Olympia, but which in time must have given place to fuller, more becoming folds, doubtless under the influence of the Asiatic Ionians. It is surmised by Furtwängler, that the original type of this nude Apollo from Naxos wandered to the Kyclades from Crete, where the Daidalid artists were active. Be this as it may, this colossus now at Delos, by reason of its costume and pose, is of greatest importance, linking the primitive tiny representation of a very old day on to the more ambitious efforts in marble, and showing us the continuity of the great stream.

A great advance upon this colossus is a small bronze in the Berlin Museum, originally from Naxos. It shows the same type, with raised arms, and is another invaluable witness to the struggle going on towards the development of the human form, and perhaps of the Apollo ideal (Fig. 90). On its pedestal, happily preserved, an archaic inscription in hexameter puts into its mouth the words, "Deinagore put me up as a votive gift to the far-shooting Apollo."²⁹⁵ This stiff figure holds in his right hand what may be a pomegranate or a sacred utensil such as is often seen being offered to Egyptian representations of deity. It has



Fig. 90. Bronze Statuette from Naxos, probably of Apollo. Berlin Museum.

also been thought to be an athlete's ointment-bottle, and, if such, to be symbolical of Apollo's contest in the boxing-match ;²⁹⁶ but the utter lack of other representations of Apollo, as connected with the games, militates against this theory.



Fig. 91. Tombstone Relief by the Naxian Alxenor, found at Orchomenos. Athens.

In the left hand is a hole, probably intended for the bow of the "far-shooting Apollo." The advanced style of this statue, as well as the shape of the inscribed letters, would seem to place it at about the end of the sixth century B.C. Here the well-developed nude form of the long-haired, youthful god, though still harsh and stiff, is carefully rendered, and shows a long march forwards, if not in time, certainly in excellence, when compared with the Delos and Naxos colossi having the same type. It is very possible, that in such small size, and in bronze, perfection could be attained earlier than in the great colossi of marble. Let us notice the surface of this quaint old figure covered with an agreeable green *patina*, like most Greek bronzes. The various color of bronze works is owing mainly to the difference in their composition. The celebrated modern works in Berlin, the shepherd at the pond, the Bacchus in Potsdam, and the bust of Germanicus in Charlottenburg, show that a short time suffices to veil a good bronze in a beautiful green *patina*. On the other hand, an ugly black surface results when in the composition there is a preponderance of zinc. This metal, being uneasy in its chemical affinities, comes continually to the surface, where it undergoes oxidization. Thus the otherwise admirable equestrian statue of Frederick the Great, before the Royal Palace in Berlin, has a large proportion of this treacherous metal in its composition,

and is now covered with a disfiguring black surface, which, whenever cleaned away, carries with it finer details.²⁹⁷

But to return to the marble works of this dawning age of Greek sculpture on Naxos. In the quarries Ross discovered an unfinished nude male statue of a slightly different type, which is now in Athens. In this figure the arms

hang at the side, and the left foot is advanced, as in a large class of works found, as we shall see, in different parts of the old Greek world.

That the Naxians had early developed relief as well as statues in the round, appears from a relief by Alxenor, the Naxian, found at Orchomenos, but now removed to Athens, in which it is evident that great advances in this direction had been made by the latter part of the sixth century, to which time this work may be attributed by reason of its quaint inscription and advanced style (Fig. 91). On this tomb-monument a man about life-size, leaning on his staff, offers a grasshopper to his dog, who leaps toward it. This sculpture, although seriously faulty, as may be seen from the strained position of the hand and the awkwardness of the dog, is pleasantly simple in its subject, and has many excellent points in the rendering of the relief. The shoulder is truthful; and the drapery, though stiff, shows, in the folds about the top of the staff, an attempt to render the careless ease of nature. Alxenor's care is evident in the fine details of the bug, the claws of the dog, and the hands of the man; but the stiff curls, the eye in full front view, and twisted position of the man, do not permit us now to admire Alxenor's work as much as he did himself, when doubtless it was a great achievement, as we may judge from his exclamation inscribed upon it, "Only behold it!" (*ἀλλ' εἰσδίοιθε*).²⁹⁸

Turning from Naxos and Paros to the neighboring islands, we find that one of the celebrated crude figures of the sixth century hails from Thera, although the names of artists of this time are not preserved from this island. This statue is now to be seen in the National Museum at Athens; and its scheme is exactly like that of the unfinished statue mentioned above, as found by Ross in the quarries of Naxos. It represents an erect, beardless youth, whose hands drop straight at the sides, and left leg is slightly advanced. This statue has been called an Apollo on account of its long hair and nudity; but the fact that it was discovered near graves, as well as the finding of still other statues of the same build among the graves of Greece, also go strongly to prove that this figure, at least, is a funereal monument, and represents a mortal youth standing near or on his grave.²⁹⁹ The painful erectness of the figure, the emphasis laid upon the bony structure of the frame, the lack of flaccidity in its execution, as well as the long oval of the face, are its noticeable features. We are reminded of the Egyptian custom of placing statues of the dead in the grave; and the advanced left leg, the hands at sides, erect head, and build more bony than muscular, of this statue from Thera, suggest Egyptian types. The possibility is not slight, that the Greek islanders may have become acquainted with Egyptian works through the Phœnicians, and perhaps Cretans; but the entire nudity of this old Thera figure, and the care expended upon the back as well as front, are differences so great from the Egyptian forms with which the Greek islanders could by any possibility have been familiar, that it may be called independent. Moreover, we find the same

type so frequently repeated, and so widely scattered, that we may consider these old Greek works as the more or less spontaneous attempts of primitive artists.

In the centre of the Ionian Kyclades is Delos, the ancient and honored shrine of Apollo. No school of artists is known to have existed here; but numerous monuments in the marble of the adjoining islands, where they were probably executed, have at last been discovered. For years the ancient monuments of Delos have furnished building material for the surrounding islands. Thus, the Church of the *Evanglisteia* on the island of Tenos is built almost



Fig. 92. Draped Female Figure discovered on Delos.

entirely of such marbles. Fortunately, what little was left *in situ* is of great importance for ancient sculpture. Delos furnishes, not only quaintest tripods, crude bronze oxen and horses like those found at Olympia, but the most important archaic inscribed marble originals from Naxos and Chios, as well as works of perfected art; thus affording happy opportunities for watching the progress in the execution of statues, both seated and standing, as developed by the early Ionians. A part of one seated female figure shows much kinship with the later statue of Miletos, in the British Museum, and, while having a part of the folds hollowed out, has others more naturally and happily rendered, illustrating the gradual success in developing drapery. Another series comprises many representations of a type very common in archaic art, but each figure in some respect superior to the one that had gone before. These figures seem, even in antiquity, to have been cast aside to make way for new works, as is frequently found to

have been done also at Olympia. They were all brought to light on Delos, with fragments of bronzes and vases, in a heap near what Homolle considers the old temple.³⁰⁰ They represent art in every stage, from crude archaic up to the perfected form, a standing female figure holding in one extended hand an attribute, and with the other raising her quaint drapery. This is very full, but laid in stiff folds. It consists of the long Ionic *chiton* buttoned several times on the shoulder, and of an outer garment passed under the left arm, and falling in a very regular ruffle-like border across the bosom. In one of the older of these statues we see long, heavy locks falling down the back (Fig. 92). We notice the especial pleasure the sculptor has taken in working out details of drapery, each fold being an attempt to follow closely the underlying form; although, as a whole, the work falls far short of true ease and freedom of expression. The contrast between the treatment of these statues, and much

smaller ones of the same type found in the ruins of the Asclepeion at Athens, and which had probably fallen from the shrine of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis, is most instructive, and may perhaps point to the difference between the older Ionic art and its stronger, more beautiful daughter of Attica. Some of these latter statues are now to be seen in the British Museum, whither they were brought by Lord Elgin. The statues found on Delos are large, full, and rather heavy; while those found in Athens are small, precise, and elegant in their execution. Who may be represented in the Delian figures, it is difficult to conjecture. It is natural to suppose that it is Artemis, worshipped especially on Delos; but the very same type occurs frequently elsewhere, in connections where it is impossible to associate it with that goddess. Moreover, we know that other statues of a very different kind were dedicated to Artemis on Delos. So Nicandra's stiff statue and the winged figure of Archermos were sacred to her; and it seems, therefore, very possible, that these standing figures of Delos are votive statues of "mortal maidens," perhaps the Delian virgins mentioned in Homeric verse.³⁰¹ Other archaic monuments of interest at Delos are, a very ancient type of Siren, its body fully that of a bird, with painted, not sculptured, feathers; a crude sphinx; a part of a horse and its youthful rider in very stiff style.³⁰²

From Delos our attention is turned to Chios, lying north of the Kyclades, and near the Asia-Minor coast. This island was famous in antiquity for its mines and its sculptors, and laid claim to the first use of marble for statues, ascribed by the ancients to Melas, the head of a family of sculptors (see p. 172). Most distinguished among them were Archermos, son of Mickiades, and his sons Bupalos and Athenis; this union of father with sons in the accounts of Greek artists having been shown by Hirschfeld to indicate that the father was teacher also of the sons.³⁰³ Of Archermos we are told that works by him were to be seen on Delos and Lesbos, and that he was the first to give wings to Nike, the goddess of victory.³⁰⁴ An anecdote recorded of his sons and the poet Hipponax may give us approximately his date, the poet having lived about the middle of the sixth century B.C. Archermos, accordingly, must have been in his prime very early in that century. But the summary notice of his works gives us no idea of the art of this master: in fact, his very existence would be shadowy were it not for the remarkable discoveries by Homolle on Delos. He found an inscription in very crude and archaic letters, with the full name of Archermos and the fragmentary one of his father Mickiades, as well as the statue belonging with this inscription, conjectured by Furtwängler to be the very winged figure called Nike by the ancients. This inscription is cut into what seems to have been a tall, plain plinth, such as was used for mounting very primitive works, and teaches us, according to the recently discovered fragments, that the figure was consecrated to the goddess Artemis.³⁰⁵ The statue is of a female figure seventy-five centimeters high, and carved fully in the

round, in fine white Parian marble (Fig. 93). From its crude style, and its cast of features very like the face of the so-called Apollo of Thera (p. 193), as well as the characters of the inscription with Archermos' name, it must belong to the earlier half of the sixth century B.C., confirming the date already inferred from the story about Hipponax. Our statue is clad in a long, flowing garment, which falls in rude folds between the legs, but about the waist fits as tightly as modern corsets, producing an unnatural shape. Holes around the marble band in her hair indicate that a diadem of metal once rested on her head. A necklace of fine design is not painted, but carved in the marble about her neck, imitating the ornaments of jewellery probably used on old idols; and metal ear-rings, as holes indicate, doubtless once adorned her ears. Looking at her lean form in front, with one bared arm dropping at the side, and the other advanced, but now broken, she seems to be moving rapidly. The



Fig. 93. Winged Nike by Archermos of Chios. Myconos.



Fig. 94. Winged Nike by Archermos of Chios.

mystery of her motion is, however, explained on viewing the back of the statue (Fig. 94). Here the broken fragments of the two wings are visible which once spread outward beyond her shoulders, and show that she is flying. Better to appreciate her movement, we may glance at the figure as it would be according to Furtwängler's proposed restoration (Fig. 95), which was made, however, before the new part of the inscription was found, and consequently omits the dedication to Artemis. In this quaint figure so fully furnished with wings, in keeping with the spirit of Ionian art, partial to many wings, we doubtless have the image called Nike by later generations, and giving rise to the report that Archermos first gave Nike wings. The strange appendages attached to her feet must be wings, which once were painted, and often appear on representations of the Gorgon. But how different this rude but beaming, kindly face from the Gorgon's horrible mask! The representation of Nike according to this same scheme appears on a very old image in terra-cotta discovered in Olympia, but with greater success than here; and on the *staters* of the Ionian Kyzicos we see this same type continued.³⁰⁶ This is a favorite scheme for

moving figures of very olden times ; and the crude, exaggerated movement, the face in full front view while the legs are running to the side, have a strong resemblance to the winged figures on early painted vases. Did the master perhaps get his inspiration from poring over some such ancient vase-painting? or are the humbler vases imitations of the greater work in marble? We smile at the primitiveness of Archermos' work, and his utter failure to give the impression of actual motion ; yet we observe his careful chiselling of hair and face, and must give him credit for boldness in venturing to represent a figure with extended wings in rapid motion, and that, too, in fragile marble. The contrast between this old Ionian figure of the sixth century and the flying Nike by Paionios of Mende, found at Olympia, as well as the colossal Nike of Samothrake of still later date (see Sel. Plate XIV.), is so strikingly great, that these works should hardly be brought together ; and yet the comparison enforces upon us the conviction of the springing and germinant power in Greek art, and we are better able to see what tremendous strides were made by the artist as he continued his experiments in his beautiful marble. The kinship between this statue and others on Delos is evident, not only in the peculiar rendering of hair and necklace, but also of the foldless mantle ; and it happily widens our knowledge of early Ionian art.

Of Archermos' sons and scholars we know, alas ! very little. Their works are stated to have been statues of the Graces, of Tyche, and of Artemis, respectively, at Smyrna, Pergamon, Lasos on Crete, and at Chios itself, as well as figures which the Emperor Augustus removed to Rome, decorating with them temples.³⁰⁷ It is now generally thought that the latter were not pedimental groups, but simple archaic figures crowning the summit and corners of the pediments, in the manner of archaic *acroteria* found in Etruscan art, which long copied early Ionian patterns.³⁰⁸

South-east of Chios, clinging to the shore, midway between Ephesos and Miletos, is the island Samos, famous for its statesmen, philosophers, artists, and shrines. We need but call to mind the power of Polycrates, the tyrant here of the latter part of the sixth century, the stories of his wealth and daring independence, to realize the importance of the island. Its wealth is indicated by the Temple of Hera, celebrated in all the ancient world on account of its size, its architecture, and the preciousness of its statues. Its extensive ruins still witness to the generosity of the insular builders ; and the



Fig. 96. Winged Nike by Archermos. Conjectural Restoration.

wonderful aqueduct in admirable preservation, recently explored, is another eloquent witness to their public spirit.³⁰⁹ Among the artists of this island may first be mentioned Menesarchos, a gem-cutter, who was the father of Pythagoras the philosopher.³¹⁰ His fame was, however, eclipsed by two other men, Rhoicos and Theodoros, sons of Phileas and Telecles. To them are attributed extensive architectural works, casting in bronze, and even literary productions. So varied and numerous are the works ascribed to these men, especially to Theodoros, that scholars were long inclined to consider their names as standing for two distinct sets of artists; but recent research has well-nigh settled the question, and done away with the dangerous expedient of doubling the ancient artists when their chronology is difficult.³¹¹ Wherein the inventions of Rhoicos and Theodoros consisted, and why Pausanias should have said that thus "works of art could be produced," is an unsolved problem.³¹² Possibly their improvements may have been in the direction of hollow casting.

In the modern processes of casting, the mould is either in many pieces or in one single whole.³¹³ When a single piece is used, a core of plaster is first made by the sculptor, roughly presenting the desired form. Over this he lays a coating of wax, which he finely models with all the delicate touches giving expression. Over this waxen model, layer by layer, is laid a coating of plaster thoroughly enveloping it. When this has hardened, the whole is heated, and the wax flows out, leaving behind an empty space. The liquid metal is now poured in, filling the whole, and adapting itself to every nook and crevice of the mould. When the metal has cooled and hardened, the external envelope of plaster is broken away, and the inner kernel is removed, which leaves a hollow metal statue combining lightness with strength. The roughnesses are then chiselled away, fine lines are sometimes added, and the completed work of art stands before us. But this process with wax, called *cire perdue*, is seldom employed at the present day; since the mould thus made can be used but once. This pecuniary disadvantage to modern trade, so dependent for its profits upon numerous repetitions of one subject, is obviated by the use of strong piece-moulds, into the hollows of which a fire-proof core is laid, an intermediate space being left to be filled with the molten metal. The pieces thus cast are united; the leg, for instance, being adjusted to its place in the body by blows, and then firmly screwed or riveted in. That similar processes were employed by the ancients seems evident from a painting representing the interior of a bronze-caster's workshop, on a vase now in the museum at Berlin.³¹⁴ Here a workman pounds an arm into its place, while the head lies detached at his feet awaiting its turn.

Granting due honor to the Samian masters for any originality in casting in bronze,—a process which in its perfected state is, as we have seen, most complicated,—there is reason to believe that they owed much to the East;

one Greek author even saying that they were scholars of Egypt. Their island home, enriched by commerce, had its settlement in the Egyptian Naucratis. Near neighbors of the Asiatic coasts, the islanders early had intercourse with Asia Minor, receiving thence articles of industry and luxury. In the eighth century B.C. the men, as well as women, of Samos, wore ear-rings, necklaces, and other golden ornaments, showing a decidedly Oriental extravagance and taste. The statues of these old Samian masters, when mentioned, are described as exceedingly rude. Such was the bronze figure called Night, in the temple at Ephesos.³¹⁵ A still more famous statue at Samos, of Apollo, is said by Diodoros to have been executed by Theodoros and his brother Telecles, after the canon of proportions which they had learned in Egypt.³¹⁶ This, according to the story, enabled them, though living apart, to work at the same figure, one-half of which, executed by Theodoros at Ephesos, was found to tally with the other half made by Telecles at Samos. A bronze figure by Theodoros, said to have been a portrait of himself, held with three fingers a quadriga covered by a fly. The description is enigmatical; but may refer to a stone cut in the style of a scarab, with a spread fly on the upper and a chariot and horses on the lower side.³¹⁷

Great weight was attached to Theodoros' vessels of precious metal. One of these in silver, said to have been so large as to hold more than forty-nine thousand gallons, was sent by the Lydian Cræsus as a votive offering to the temple at Delphi. Another, of gold, stood in the apartments of a Persian king. A grape-vine of gold, on which the grapes were precious stones; and the celebrated seal-ring owned by Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, — were also said to have been the work of Theodoros.³¹⁸ The praise of his vessels for mixing libations, while the figures of his school are spoken of as stiff and rude, may indicate that decorative and industrial art was his strong point.

These Samians are said to have built the renowned Lemnian labyrinth with its one hundred and fifty columns, and the Temple of Hera, on their native island. Theodoros' name is also associated with the building of the temple at Ephesos, and Mr. Wood's excavations on the site have furnished remarkable corroboration of the statements of the ancients. Previous to the erection of the great temple, Theodoros is said to have advised preparing for the foundations by laying in the marshy soil a layer of charcoal, which the ancients tell us was put between fleeces of wool. This tradition, long considered a fanciful story, has at last been proved, in part at least, to be true. Under the lowest foundations, Mr. Wood discovered a layer of charcoal three inches thick, between two strata four inches thick of a substance of the consistency of putty, found on analysis to be a kind of mortar.³¹⁹



*Fig. 96. Draped
Statue found
in Samos,
probably Hera.*

Happily at last a speaking witness to the skill of early Samian sculptors in marble has been found on their native island, within the precincts of its great temple.³²⁰ Among the secondary shrines which seem to have surrounded the temple proper was discovered a statue measuring 1.92 meters in height, and of white, large-grained marble, like that of Paros (Fig. 96). The shape of the letters of its inscription, and the careful workmanship of the statue, give as its date the end of the sixth, or the beginning of the fifth, century B.C. We notice at once the stiff, erect form, in general resembling that of Nicandra's votive gift at Delos (Fig. 89). But this marble figure illustrates the growth from such unwieldy works, in which the influence of wooden patterns was felt, to those in which the statue becomes in spirit almost thoroughly a marble production. Here we see a very richly dressed lady, and close examination shows how elaborate and painfully fine are the details of her wardrobe. Not the two simple garments usually met with in Greek statues of a more perfected art, but four are clearly to be distinguished. A long under-robe of light and apparently ribbed stuff falls from shoulders to feet, and is girded at the waist. Over this a coarser shawl-like mantle is thrown, buttoned many times on the arm, which is left bare below the elbow. The third wrap hangs most curiously from the girdle in a curve above, and falls in a straight, bordered mass around the body nearly to the feet. The fourth garment, not to be seen in the plate, falls from the neck straight down the back, nearly to the bottom of the third. The right hand and arm, both worked out with care, hold the stiff drapery at the side; while the left hand, but partially preserved, is laid across the breast, where a hole indicates that some attribute, perhaps a pomegranate or flower, was originally fastened. But who may be this quaint, elaborately dressed lady from the temple-courts? The inscription carved into the border of her second mantle, where it is attached to the belt, addresses the beholder with the words, "Xerameus consecrated me a votive gift to Hera;" and it is probable that the richly draped statue represents Hera herself. The wardrobe of this temple divinity at Samos, according to an inscription discovered there in 1877, was very rich.³²¹ There were many tunics of various colors, and mantles of fine tissues; and may we not imagine the sculptor, in his representation of Hera, to have been influenced by the sight of the old *xoana*, hung with such rich and costly garments? The style of the sculpture is exceedingly interesting, as being much like that of the famous statues from Miletos, discovered by Professor Newton, and now in the British Museum (p. 179). An elaborateness of drapery is seen in them also, as well as the failure to render the form under the heavy folds.

Thus we see, that, from the islands of the Ægean, many monuments of greatest importance for the history of very early Greek sculpture have been rescued; and we can only hope that other long-hidden treasures will soon be brought to light.

CHAPTER XIII.

BEGINNINGS AND GROWTH OF SCULPTURE IN MARBLE DURING THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C. (*concluded*).—GREECE AND SICILY.

Art in Crete and the Peloponnesos. — Traditional Art. — Rude Cretan Bronzes. — The Scholars of Dipoinos and Skyllis. — Discoveries of Homolle. — Gitiadas. — Argos and Sikyon. — Argive Works at Olympia. — Similar Works in Dodona and Etruria. — Apollo of Tenea. — Monuments from Sparta. — Chrysapha Relief, etc. — Significance of these Sculptures. — Their Growth and Artistic Features. — Attempts at Portraiture in Lakedaïmonian Art. — Sculptures from Meligū, Selinus, and Kythera. — Sculptures at Olympia. — Colossal Head of Hera. — Bronze Head of Zeus. — Figure of Zeus. — Treasury of Megara. — Its Primitive Style. — Archaic Art in Bœotia. — So-called Apollo of Orchomenos. — Relief from Tanagra. — Significance of these Works. — Their Style and Origin. — Foreign Influences in Attica. — Use of Foreign Stone. — Athena by Endoios. — Attic Tomb-sculptures. — Marble Head of Athena from Acropolis. — The Attic Type. — Fragmentary Statues from the Acropolis. — Sphinx from Spata. — Tombstone Figure from Athens. — Relief from Themistocles' Wall. — Tombstones of Aristion and Lyseas. — Peculiarities of Attic Tomb-reliefs. — Relief in advance of Statuary. — Ægina. — Head from Saburoff Collection. — Art in Sicily and Southern Italy. — Sculptures from Selinus. — General Characteristics of Art at this time. — Influence of Contemporary Customs on the Artist.

LEAVING the art of Asia Minor and the islands in the sixth century B.C., we turn to that of Crete and its disciple, the Peloponnesos, for the same period. Crete, the fabled home of Daïdalos and the Telchines, had doubtless still a flourishing art-life. Pausanias drops an obscure sentence about the fame of the Cretans in executing *xoana*.³²² The fact that two celebrated Cretan sculptors, the brothers Dipoinos and Skyllis, now moved to the Peloponnesos, where they worked, and gathered around them a large number of scholars, even from distant Italy, shows conclusively the artistic importance of Crete during the sixth century. According to Pliny, these men, whom tradition styled the sons of Daïdalos himself, took up their home in the Peloponnesos before Cyrus came to the Persian throne; and their date is consequently placed about 580 B.C., or the opening of this century.³²³ The temples of Cleonai, Argos, and Sikyon, as well as of far-off Ambrakia in Aitolia, were said to be full of their works; and a gilded bronze figure of Heracles from their hands was owned by the rich Crœsus of Lydia, and formed a part of the booty carried off by Cyrus when he conquered that king in 541 B.C.³²⁴ The most of their works seem to have been combinations of wood, ivory, and probably gold. In the temple of the Dioscuri, at Argos, was seen an equestrian group of these demi-gods and their families,

executed in ebony and ivory; but the statement by Pliny, that these men worked in marble, is probably groundless.³²⁵

Such having been the perishable construction of the works of the early Cretan masters known to us, it is not strange that only small remains in bronze and terra-cotta have been found on the island; although excavations may yet serve to enlighten us upon its early art, and would be of highest importance for its history. Two rude bronzes were found in Crete, which once probably adorned a vessel of the same material.³²⁶ One is a statuette of a nude youth, — perhaps a worshipper, — bearing a goat upon his shoulder, and is now in the Berlin Museum: the other is a relief, cut out *à jour* (Fig. 97). It was evidently



Fig. 97. Bronze Relief from Crete.

intended to be applied to a background, perhaps the body of a *cista*, or cylindrical casket, like one now in the Berlin Museum, from Capua, which is surmounted by a similar goat-bearing figure. The scene on this Cretan bronze, in which a bearded man with bow in hand takes hold of the arm of a younger comrade bearing a long-horned goat on his shoulder, is doubtless a parley between two simple hunters. The lack of proper individualization in these crude shapes makes it impossible to detect any deeper mythological meaning. The main interest lies in the curious style and technique. The treatment of the metal brings up the question whether Dipoinos and Skyllis may not have used a similar *appliqué* style with ivory and woods in executing statues of the heroes and gods. So crude and undeveloped are these products, that they may with safety be assigned to the latter half of the seventh, or very early part of the sixth, century.

In the Peloponnesos the Lakedaimonian brothers, Dorycleidas and Dontas, were scholars of Dipoinos and Skyllis, and seem to have carried out the peculiar technique of their foreign teachers, executing groups in wood, decorated with gold and ivory, for the treasure-houses at Olympia, where they were seen by Pausanias long centuries afterwards. This writer gives them but a passing notice; and although the Treasury was discovered where their works stood, still no fragments or tokens of their costly work were found.³²⁷ Of Clearchos of Rhegion in Italy, also said to have been a scholar of the celebrated Cretan masters, we know but little, except that he executed a figure of Zeus for Sparta in the oldest manner of hammering out and riveting together the pieces of metal.³²⁸ Two other sculptors, Tectaios and Angelion, also called scholars of Dipoinos and Skyllis, and probably natives of the island Cos, continued the chryselephantine style of these masters, and executed for

Apollo's shrine at Delos a statue of the god, who appeared holding his bow in one hand and the three Graces on the other.³²⁹ M. Homolle has recently discovered the accounts made by officials of Delos of the accumulated treasure of the temple, among which these Graces on the hand of the god are mentioned. On Athenian coins we recognize this figure of the god holding his bow and the Graces; its pose being that so often met with in extant works of this time, in which the nude figure stands erect, like the Naxos Apollo, mentioned p. 191, with arms raised from the elbow, and holding attributes.³³⁰

Gitiadas of Sparta, poet, architect, and sculptor at once, was probably a younger contemporary of the Cretan masters. Besides decorating votive tripods with figures of the gods, he built a temple to Athena, and executed for it the statue of the goddess, adorning his work with extensive bronze reliefs of the labors of Heracles, the birth of Athena, and other mythological scenes, continuing, it would seem, an old system in covering statue and temple interior with bronze.³³¹

In the Peloponnesos, whither Dipoinos and Skyllis had come introducing their art, Argos and Sikyon seem always to have been the most important centres of art-influence. Argos had its own sculptors from olden times; and their descendants were proud of such antecedents, as appears from the statement of Pausanias, that he saw an inscription on a statue erected about Olymp. 70, which stated, that the sculptors who executed it "had learned from those who had gone before."³³² The old Argive and Sikyon masters seem to have worked mainly in bronze, a characteristic which was always retained; while neighboring Attica developed more the use of marble, gold, and ivory. This decided preference for metal, a material so tempting to the avarice of man, may explain the lack of monuments traceable to workshops of Argos and Sikyon. A few unpretending bronze reliefs, doubtless once the incrustation of some sacred utensil, were, however, found at Olympia, inscribed with Argive characters, and are among the earliest works that we have from Argos. They are hammered out in thin metal, and the scenes represented are apparently mythic. Within a border, like braided work, and another of squares resembling metopes and triglyphs, is a running winged figure at full speed, in the peculiar half-kneeling pose of the old art: again, two men seem to converse over a fallen body. In a third relief (Fig. 98 *a*) we see a part of the figure of the bound Prometheus in the same pose as on an island gem (Fig. 73).³³³ The most interesting of these metal incrustations is that in which Heracles (Fig. 98 *b*) wrestles with a semi-fish, semi-human being, called, in the accompanying inscription, Halios Geron, the wise monster of the deep, whose origin is to be traced to Oriental myth, and who resembles the fishy monster in the Assos sculptures. The forms on these old bits of bronze are such, that, in connection with the shape of the letters of the inscription, they may be assigned to the latter half of the sixth century. On them Heracles still appears without

his lion's skin, but carrying his bow, and wearing the quiver on his back. The finding at Dodona and in Etruria of metal reliefs, exactly like these old Argive bronzes, one of which is now in the museum at Carlsruhe, indicates that these works were articles of export trade, and shows us one of the sources whence Etruria drew her art-forms.³³⁴

Not many hours' journey from Argos at Tenea, that marble statue was found, now in Munich, generally known as the Apollo of Tenea (Fig. 99), which in its type is like the statues described above as found on Thera and Naxos. It receives its name on account of its being a nude, beardless youth, wearing long hair, — characteristics supposed to have belonged exclusively to Apollo. But that such flowing locks in archaic art were found on mortals, appears from a crude bronze relief from Olympia, in which two nude men are wrestling, one of them having long hair falling down his back. Besides, the



Fig. 98 a. Bronze Relief from Argos. Discovered in Olympia.



Fig. 98 b. Bronze Relief from Argos. Discovered in Olympia. Heracles struggling with Hallos Geron.

site of discovery was a burial-place, well-nigh proving, that not a god, but the deceased, appears here.³³⁵ This naïve old statue from Tenea stands with hands at the side, both feet planted flat on the ground, the left slightly in advance. The hands are tightly closed, and the long hair falls in waves of conventional regularity down the back. The corners of the closed mouth are so drawn up as to seem to smile, and the almond-shaped eyes are obliquely set. So bald is the framework of this statue, and so harsh its lines, that Brunn sees in it an illustration of that process by which old wooden statues were transmitted into works in stone.³³⁶ The curves about the corners of the mouth are like those cut by a knife, having a sharpness unnatural to marble. But we see here an honest endeavor to render nature. The legs and feet are more successfully given than the broader, more difficult forms of the chest. The muscles of the thighs, though too massive, indicate in the flow of their lines a capability of tension which would make them true mediums of motion and manly strength. The shoulders slope unnaturally, the neck appears stretched, and the loins are disproportionately slender. These imperfections are, however,

somewhat atoned for by the nicety with which the general forms are adjusted, the painstaking in the details, and the skill shown in the handling of the marble. But how far yet from agreeable portraiture is this strange face, with its retreating forehead and projecting chin!

A remarkable series of monuments, discovered within a few years in the neighborhood of Sparta, ancient Lakedaïmonia, show us a strongly local art, as having flourished in the confined valley of the Eurotas. Together with many other relics, recently unearthed in and about Sparta, they are for the most part collected in a museum in that ancient city. This series, as well as an Arcadian relief now in Athens, are especially interesting as throwing light upon hitherto unknown ancient customs with regard to the dead; and the subjects, being frequently repeated, allow us to follow art in its development towards truth to nature and beauty of form, while clinging to the same old type. These sculptures, no less than thirteen in number, are variations on one theme, a male and a female throned figure, and were tombstone reliefs, as appears from the position in which several of them were found.³³⁷

The earliest, which, judging from its style, dates from 600 to 550 B.C., was found at Chrysapha, three hours east of Sparta, in a tumulus of earth and stone, and is now owned by M. Saburoff, Russian ambassador at Berlin (Fig. 100). It is in the bluish-gray stone of the place, and in perfect preservation. The slab on which it is cut is rectangular below; but its sides are not straight by the rule, and follow the outline of the group. Here, on a high throne, its back ending in a palm-leaf, and its feet resembling lions' claws, two large figures are seated side by side. The nearer looks out with full front face towards the beholder; his neck has the width of the face; and over his shoulders and chest drop four rigid locks, like rows of beads. One hand is advanced, holding a large vase or *cantharos* of beautiful shape: the other is empty, and extended with open palm. The body, which appears like one flat surface, is covered by a garment, indicated only by a few exactly parallel folds running across the form, and finished by a hem. The ankle-bones are rendered with a nearer approach to nature than any thing else in this curious figure. A wedge-shaped beard is sparingly marked on the large chin. The corners of the mouth are drawn up, giving that peculiar expression so frequently met with in archaic Greek works; and the ears, placed high on the head, stand out from it. Occupying the same throne sits an equally erect female figure, with face in profile. A broad braid crosses her forehead, and a curl as stiff as those of her companion drops below the ear. Her mouth is small and straight, chin large and full, bosom



Fig. 99. The so-called Apollo from Tenea. Munich.

high and prominent. Her left hand holds, with rudely executed thumb and forefinger, a veil, which is only indicated by its raised edge. Her right hand holds upon her lap a pomegranate. Parallel lines across the knee show that the sculptor meant to represent her as draped; and one foot is hidden in a pointed shoe, like those seen on ancient monuments of Asia Minor. Below these two large figures we discern two diminutive shapes,—a man approaching, bearing a cock and an egg; and a woman with a pomegranate and conventionally formed bud. Both of these minute figures are fully draped, the garments following in sharp lines the contour of the bodies. The woman has her dress



Fig. 100. Tomb Relief found at Chrysapha, near Sparta. Saburoff Collection.

buttoned on the shoulder, and in general resembles the enthroned figure to whom she brings offerings. A snake, with a long, narrow beard, raises itself behind the throne, having a large comb on its dog-like head, and its tail curled under the throne, thus filling out the space otherwise vacant.

Inscriptions on several similar reliefs aid us in understanding the significance of these monuments. On one we are told that a wife, Tyche, dedicated the stele to her husband, Micos; and other inscriptions make it probable that these seated figures are representations of the heroed dead, receiving the homage of kindred and friends, and not of the great divinities of

the underworld, as was at first supposed.³³⁸

As the ancient Greek raised temples to his god; so, in the same spirit of devotion, he put up these humbler monuments to his dead, honoring them, as it would seem, with the garments and symbols of the nether world,—Dionysos' *cantharos*, Persephone's pomegranate and veil, and the sacred snake. Following these interesting reliefs approximately, in the order of their development, we next notice one now in Sparta, in which the subject is the same as in that just described, but with a difference in the details.³³⁹ A dog, doubtless, like the snake and pomegranate, of symbolical meaning, sits against the leg of the throne, regarding the little worshippers who approach. The latter do not straggle along, but stand side by side in perspective. There is less rigidity in the lines of this relief; although the same sharp treatment, as if in layers measured off, is evident. Other reliefs, with groups facing in the opposite direction, show a decided advance on this very old class.³⁴⁰ From these the little worshippers have disappeared, the scheme is simpler, and in one case we are astonished by the naturalness of a piece of drapery falling over the arm of the throne. The vase is smaller than in the former reliefs, and the surface is more

agreeably filled. A very interesting variation on these reliefs, and bringing new light on certain points, is one in which the hero appears alone, seated on his lotos-crowned throne (Fig. 101). The pomegranate and *cantharos* are here, but the snake has disappeared; and in its place is a trotting-horse, and a dog leaping up on the hero's knees.³⁴¹ In the older reliefs, the dog sits stiffly by the side of the throne, — a cold symbol: here he is made to give expression to his friendly interest; and, although his form is faulty, we are touched by this attempt of the old carver to weave a kindly, loving element into his work. The drapery is only partially carved out; the remainder having, doubtless, been expressed by color.

We meet this quaint figure again in a relief which may date from soon after 500 B.C. His throne has become more elegant, the hair more natural, the eyes less oblique; and we see in the folds of the sleeve some correspondence to the form of the arm beneath. The enthroned lady holds out her veil less stiffly; and her hand, enveloped in its folds, is indicated through them. The man is also in profile; and, although the folds of his dress are straight, they are no longer so stiffly parallel: and the whole relief has come to be an agreeable representation.

Out of the small worshippers of the older scenes, independent types seem to have grown. Thus, a girl bearing a bud seems a development of the tiny, uncouth worshipper of Fig. 100; and how exquisitely such a motive was carried still farther will be seen in another relief, now in the Louvre, from Pharsalos (Fig. 130). On still another of these very archaic sepulchral reliefs from Arcadia, and now in Athens, the veiled woman, holding a flower, occupies a throne alone.³⁴² Before her stands a youth, offering a wreath to her companion. Of the latter, the feet alone are left; but, judging from analogy with later sculptures, there can be no doubt that he appeared reclining, as at the feast of the dead. In this relief, we see the archaic prototype of a class of representations which became very common in later times, one of which is given in Fig. 213. Throughout this series of reliefs from ancient Lakedaïmonia, there is noticeable a striving to subordinate the details, the whole being divided off into broad planes. We feel that the sculptor was guided by a mathematical principle, which, although harsh and stiff, does not seem to represent a thoroughly child-like art, groping to find its way, but has a firmness only to be

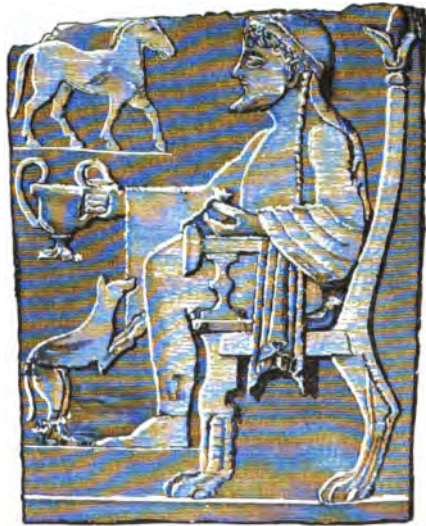


Fig. 101. Tombstone Relief from Lakedaïmonia. Private possession.

explained by supposing that the sculptor copied older and already established types. This original type, as we may conclude from the peculiar treatment of the earliest of these reliefs, must have been in wood. The figures have something unbending in the edges, board-like in their surfaces, and are notched in the folds. Moreover, the Laconian land is known to have been especially rich in most ancient wooden figures of various kinds. The so-called Spartan stele, which has been the subject of much discussion, has the same general character as the works already described.³⁴³

In addition to their dependence upon wood, it is thought by Brunn, that in the breadth and sharpness inherent in the style of these works may be discerned a peculiar characteristic of what he deems Peloponnesian art, and which, he thinks, sought, not a free imitation of nature, but its subjugation to the severe lines of architectonic build; while the pleasing details of drapery and the like have led others to see in these old works the influence of the old Ionian, indicated in the tradition connected with Bathycles from Magnesia. The striking resemblances in subject, and some details of garment, to the Harpy monument, — those sculptures found in Lykia, doubtless traceable to Ionian influence, — go farther to confirm the theory, that here early influences from Asia Minor were at work.

That in the very olden time the sculptors of ancient Laconia attempted portraiture, appears from a small archaic marble head, now in private possession, which was found in Meligò, a village on the site of ancient Thyrea.³⁴⁴ Although exceedingly crude, we feel that the artist has tried to represent the characteristics and friendliness of life, while leaving many details to be expressed by color. A small bronze discovered in 1871 at Kosmasanct (Selinus), in the midst of Laconia, and now belonging to the Archæological Society at Athens, is another interesting witness to the early art of this part of the land.³⁴⁵ It represents a warrior in armor, wearing a tall, plumed helmet, close-fitting breastplate, and greaves. His hair falls in a long, heavy mass down his back, and a pointed beard hangs from his chin. The right arm, doubtless, once held a lance; and the left is lowered, as though carrying a shield. He places both feet flat on the ground, the left slightly in advance, and has altogether a martial bearing. The inscription surrounding the base tells us, that one Carmos dedicated this figure, perhaps of himself, to the god Maleates, — a name under which Apollo was worshipped in the Peloponnesos. The figure has a precision of outline and lean firmness throughout which is peculiar. The details of this well-preserved bronze, which appear through the *patina*, are, moreover, subservient to the general build and conception of the whole, and give this small figure a decided character and importance in the history of ancient Laconian art. The shape of the letters of its inscription fixes its date at about the end of the sixth century. A statuette of kindred firm style, and equally fine workmanship, now in Berlin, was discovered at Olympia. This

statuette wears a short jacket reaching to the waist, and is otherwise nude. It seems to represent an ordinary worshipper; but the same figure in another instance has received the lion's skin, and become a Heracles.³⁴⁶ A very fine, nearly life-size bronze head from Kythera (Cerigo), now in the Berlin Museum, shows us this firm, energetic style developed on a large scale, there being a certainty of expression throughout its forms (Fig. 102). This head represents, without doubt, a goddess, and, by comparison with archaic coins of Cnidos, is seen to be Aphrodite, who from ancient times was worshipped at Kythera.³⁴⁷ The eyeballs, once filled to represent the pupil, have now lost their contents. When looking at this plain ideal of Aphrodite, how long and arduous seems the road still to be travelled by Greek art until it should climb to the height where stood Praxiteles' love-inspiring goddess! In this bronze, Brunn finds a mathematical architectonic build of the framework. The surface planes are clearly marked,



Fig. 102. Bronze Head, probably Aphrodite. From Kythera. Berlin Museum.



Fig. 103. Colossal Head in Limestone, probably Hera. Olympia.

but all the softer and naturally changing forms of muscle and skin are omitted. The hair is treated in masses, varied only by shallow surface-lines. Thus the build of the face offers little change of surface. In its long oval the forehead is archless, the eyes retreat but slightly, the overhanging of the eyebrows is barely intimated by a raised line, the nose appears as if superadded, and the mouth, about which plays a quaint smile, is subordinated to the strong chin. All superfluous detail being thus omitted, there is throughout the work extreme moderation in following nature, combined with remarkable skill in rendering that which the sculptor chose. In earlier works, such as the Apollo of Tenea, incapacity and ignorance seem to have affected conception and execution. Here, however, no unskilled mind or hand was at work. Experimenting is nowhere evident. The sculptor seems to go methodically to work, paring down, as it were, every thing accidental or superfluous, according to a sure, but stern system. This could not have been the hap-hazard experimenting of a single man, but the result of a long discipline. Such a well-trained school, literary notices warrant us in believing, existed in Argos and Sikyon, and should

come in Polycleitos to ripest fruition. Possibly this head had its origin in these centres of art-activity; but, as yet, analogies fail to prove the certainty of this supposition.

Turning to the western Peloponnesos, we find in Olympia many witnesses to the activity of this olden time. But we must remember, that to this sacred spot flowed gifts from all parts of the ancient Greek world; and hence works of every school and national type must have stood here side by side. To group the kindred monuments, and trace back these families to the hearth-stones whence they came, are among the great and glorious tasks which now rest upon the archæologist, who out of ruined, confused monuments, must build up again the stately fabric of old.

The monuments in the stone of the neighborhood were doubtless executed on the spot, but it seems clear that they were often the work of masters from abroad. Thus the Treasuries of the Sicilians at Olympia have been shown to be the work of Sicilian architects, from their kinship to works in Sicily; and it is possible that some day the same may be proved for their sculptures.³⁴⁸ Among the oldest monuments at Olympia is a colossal head (Fig. 103), in the yellowish-white limestone of the neighborhood, the same material as a large pedestal which must have borne the sacred image of Hera, since it was found at the inner end of her very ancient temple.³⁴⁹ This head, a very crude piece of sculpture, there can be little doubt belonged to this very ancient idol of that goddess, seen by Pausanias in the temple, and described as a very coarse piece of work.³⁵⁰ It seems to belong to the very beginnings of working in stone. No such firm treatment is evident here as in the Chrysapha relief or Kythera Aphrodite, but a seeking after modes of expression. Color was apparent on this colossal head when first discovered; its head-dress, the *calathos*, being light red, and the *tania* winding through the hair dark red. The pupils of the eyes are marked by a circle scratched in the stone, and emphasized by color. The ear is egregiously misplaced; being, unlike most archaic ears, far too low down. In view of its feeble forms, we do not wonder that Pausanias was struck by its ugliness in a temple which contained works in gold, ivory, and cedar-wood, and even Praxiteles' Hermes. When, however, we remember that from such crude ideals of the great Hera floating in primitive minds, should in time be developed the queenly features of a Juno Ludovisi, our interest, at least, is enlisted for this feeble beginning.

A far more developed art, with lean, firm forms, is seen in a fine bronze head (Fig. 104) discovered at Olympia, and doubtless representing Zeus. How strong and concise the artist's language here, in which every detail is subjected to the main impression! But this head is especially interesting as showing us in life-size the old type in which artists before Pheidias represented the supreme god. The elaborate *coiffure*, and the long, pointed beard, suggest a time when artists must have seen around them a more complicated

arrangement of the hair than that in vogue in the time after the Persian war. A terra-cotta head, also found at Olympia, shows us this type and expression, which has, however, lost much of the archaic harshness of the bronze.³⁵¹ A Zeus in full, quaint figure is also represented among these bronzes; but his whole appearance has still nothing that inspires us with an idea of the god-like, which was yet to be expressed by coming artists, standing on the shoulders of those who had gone before.

Important among the most archaic sculptures discovered at Olympia, but unfortunately very seriously injured, are those high reliefs which adorned the pediment of the Treasury of the people of Megara. They form the oldest pedimental group known to us, and are referred to by Pausanias.³⁵² They decorated the exterior of the building in which stood the small figures in cedar-wood and gold by Dontas and Dorycleidas, mentioned p. 202, and may possibly be connected with the ancient art of Laconia, the home of those masters. They are, doubtless, from the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and, although in the coarse stone of the land, show upon what compositions those old men ventured in decorating the Treasuries of the *altis*. The scene represents in crudest forms the combat of gods and giants, a subject which should attain long afterwards fullest expression in the powerful frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon. Parts of all the groups are fortunately preserved to us, as well as many



Fig. 104. Head of Zeus in Bronze. Olympia.

architectural fragments. The giants are clad in full armor, and seem complete but very brutal human beings, their faces calling to mind those of the centaurs of the great Temple of Zeus. But the composition is the most interesting feature of these stiff reliefs, there being observed that strict correspondence of parts met with in all early Greek compositions. In the centre, not a single figure, but a struggling group of two, appears, doubtless Zeus and a giant. On each side follow two groups of combatants, — to the right, according to Treu's interpretation, (1) Athena and a giant; (2) Poseidon and a giant. To the left are (1) Heracles with his foe; (2) Ares with his, and in the corners a sea-monster and what seems to be a serpent. There is, then, that symmetry to be met with constantly in later times, but here still monotonously regular; and in the single groups the exaggerated motion, so marked in archaic relief, is everywhere evident. Other peculiarities of composition show still other incipient stages of what should be developed by Greek genius into the highest results. Thus there is an earnest attempt to fill out the sloping space of the

pediment : but, in so doing, the early artist has not avoided great disproportion between the lying, kneeling, and standing forms ; the latter, as in the Temple of Assos, being amusingly small. In the crowded space, legs and arms cross one another, doubtless to break in part the iron symmetry followed, but in reality producing confusion. The movement of the figures is from the centre outward, giving the impression that the giants flee on each side before the gods. So unskilfully is this done, however, that even the gods seem to be in danger of running their heads against the slope of the pediment. Much is left to color, which is altogether conventional ; hair, lips, and eyes alike having a fiery red.

In Bœotia, in the sixth century, archaic art seems to have been striving, though in a feeble way, to express itself. In the different museums at Thebes, Tanagra (Skimatari), Thespiai (Eumocastro), and Chaironeia (Capurna), are collected many specimens of sculpture discovered in that state. Others are still scattered throughout the land, and some have been removed to Athens. Among the very earliest is the crude statue of a nude youth from Orchomenos, after the exact scheme of the so-called Apollo's of Tenea and Thera.³⁵³ The primitive artist here seems to attempt, with some independence, a representation, in rough Bœotian stone, of a pattern received, perhaps, from abroad. His lack of success appears in the coarse features, and amusing anatomy of the muscles of the abdomen. Another smaller statue, proved to be likewise originally from Bœotia, and now in the British Museum, is much in advance of it, and, while much ruined, still shows that a genuine striving to represent truthfully the human form was attaining good results (Fig. 105). A work in very high relief, discovered in a necropolis at Tanagra, shows a primitive and poor attempt to combine two figures of this old type in one group.³⁵⁴ The accompanying inscription teaches us, that they represent Dermys and Kitylos ; but such is the advanced character of the letters, that the sculpture must have been executed late in the sixth century, and not as early as was at first conjectured from its shockingly crude and barbarous forms. Compared with a monument of Agathon and Aristocrates at Thespiai, which has the same style of letters, but a vastly superior art, we see that the Dermys and Kitylos monument is not older work, but that of men left far behind in the race. The fact that these old, standing nude figures, with one foot in advance, were used for sepulchres, goes to strengthen the idea that the Orchomenos and British-Museum statues, following the same type, were also not of gods, but heroed mortals. It seems equally certain, however, that this very type, sometimes at least, represented Apollo ; since in a Pompeian picture the same figure appears with an altar before it. Whence this type came, and who the artists that originated it, are questions that have long awakened inquiry.

With slight differences, the motive is the same in the Orchomenos, British-Museum, Thera, and Tenea statues, as well as in two from Actium, now in

the Louvre. In all, the figure stands with left foot advanced, both arms hanging at the side, and separated from the body only at the waist. The hands are closed tightly, so that the broad side of the thumb is turned outward: the hair in all falls down the neck, and the legs are carefully worked out. It has been conjectured that this original type may be traced back to the old Daidalid sculptors, Dipoinos and Skyllis, from Crete, whose art spread over the Peloponnesos, and must have been different from that of Ionia.³⁵⁵ To them may possibly be traced these representations of the nude male form, in contrast to the Ionians, who wore long garments, which they represented by preference in their art. The Cretan Daidalid sculptors, unlike the Ionians, worked, not in marble, but wood and metal, and may have built on the groundwork of a severe type similar to that of Egypt, with which, on account of their proximity to that country, they may easily have become acquainted. That the influence of foreign art was strong in Bœotia appears, besides, from the inscribed tombstone carved there by the Naxian Alxenor (see p. 192). We shall see, that, in later monuments, Attic influence was strong; and that, so far as we know, there never flourished in Bœotia an independent native art, like that of its neighbors, Argos, Sikyon, and Attica.



Fig. 106. *Nude Male Figure with Long Hair, from Bœotia. British Museum.*

We may now turn to Attica itself, the land that should give birth to the greatest sculptors. At the beginning of the sixth century a Solon lived, framing for Athens wise laws. As time passed on, the Peisistratidæ came to power. They made internal improvements, built a temple to Athena, and erected an altar to the twelve great gods of Olympos; but, by 510 B.C., this house was deprived of its power by the people seeking greater liberty. Tradition claimed that the descendants of Daidalos worked in Athens, thus implying that there had long been a national Attic art: but there are signs, that, during the sixth century, Attica, in sculpture, was under the tutelage of Parian and Ionian masters; slowly developing, however, her own peculiar character.³⁵⁶ Of the sculptors of this age, known to us by inscriptions, there is scarcely one not proved to be a foreigner; the very material used in Athens was Parian, not native Attic marble; and the types were the same as those found on the islands and in Ionia. Even the metrical verses on the old Attic *hermæ*, put up as waymarks by the Peisistratidæ, were foreign, and may be traced to Ionic poets.³⁵⁷

On four different pedestals of Parian marble, found in Attica, the name of Aristion, a Parian artist, is inscribed; the form of the letters proving that his works date from the sixth century B.C.³⁵⁸ Unfortunately, the sculptures which once stood over them, and were intended for graves, are gone.

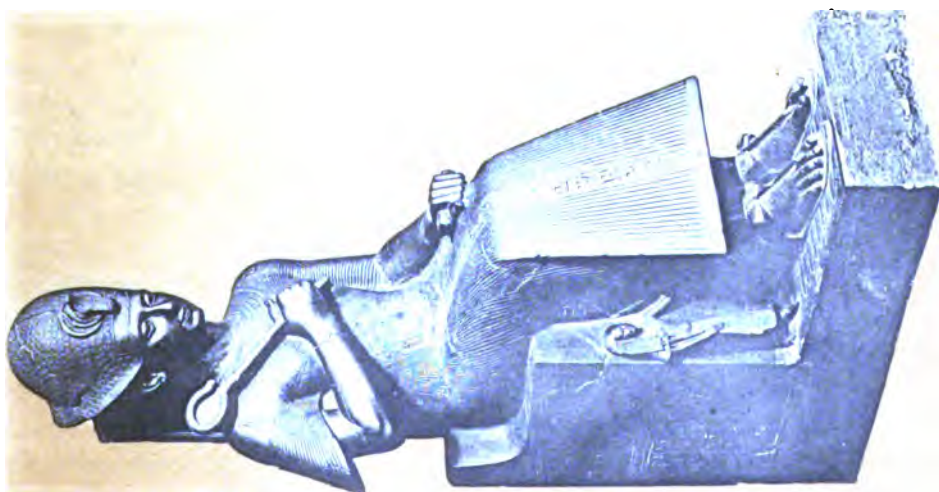
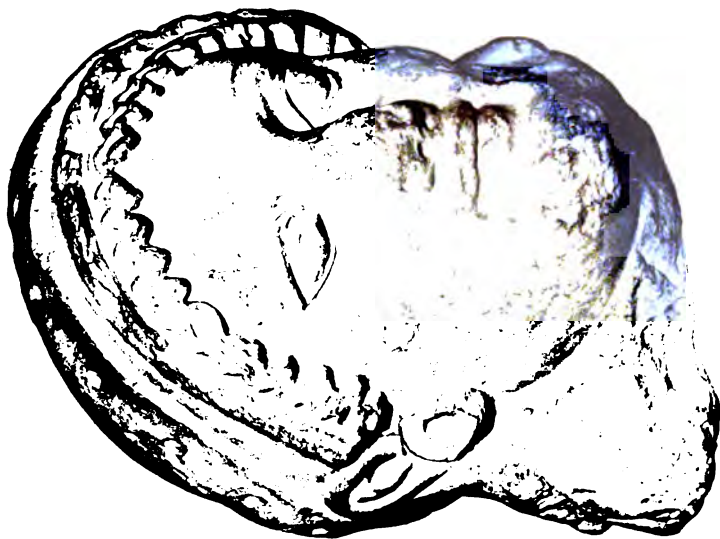
Endoios, whom we have already seen to have been an Ionian, executed a seated statue of Athena, consecrated by Callias, and seen on the Acropolis near the Erechtheion, by Pausanias.³⁵⁹ It is possible that a seated archaic figure of marble, discovered under the Acropolis, may be this figure from his hand (Fig. 106). That it represents Athena, is clear from the *agis* over the shoulders, and the signs of having had the Gorgon head attached. Unfortunately, the cut does not render the fine lines of the drapery at all correctly, making them look like hair. Although much like the best developed of the Miletos statues, it is more spirited in composition, and, if executed by Endoios, shows that he was a



Fig. 106. Seated Athena in Marble.
Athena.

great innovator. To those accustomed to the immovable seated representations of the goddess, as we have them in archaic terra-cotta figures, how bold must have been the artist's change in this statue, making the goddess draw back her leg, fairly ready to rise from her eternal throne! The fact that all archaic works in the round, found in Attica, are in imported Parian marble, while the less extensive reliefs are sometimes of native Attic material from Pentelicos or Hymettos, shows that the use of this cheaper native stone once was not general; and it is not probable that it became so before the time of Pericles and Pheidias. Another fact, confirming the dependence of Attica upon the outside world, is, that the type of many archaic draped figures, found in Athens, some of which are now in the British Museum, is exactly the same as that of the figures recently discovered in Delos (p. 194).

By far the greater part of the oldest monuments from Attica are from tombs; a few, however, seeming to have been single offerings on the Acropolis. Had not the Persians so thoroughly destroyed old Athens, we should, doubtless, have also had preserved to us relics of temple sculptures from this olden time. Of the many very archaic fragments from the Acropolis, that time-honored shrine of Athena, none is, perhaps, more interesting than a large marble head, represented by necessity alongside of the seated Rameses II., on Plate I., and showing us the ancient conception of the great national goddess Athena, who here wears the close-fitting Attic helmet, and, strangely enough, large ear-rings dropping from the exaggerated lobes of her ears.^{359a} At first sight this head is almost repulsive, and is certainly lacking in that finer feeling and grace we are wont to connect with Attic art. It appears to be the early sculptor's attempt to represent life as he saw it; and he succeeds in conveying a certain impression of inner force and kindness welling out in the thick lips, cheek-muscles, and large, round eyes, quite different from any thing in many



severer forms found in the Peloponnesos, or the more luxurious ones of ancient Ionia, as seen in the Ephesos heads. Besides, in contrast to the long and narrow oval of the face, seen in the Aphrodite found at Kythera (p. 209), and in some heads from Attica itself, such as the Spata sphinx (Fig. 107), we see, here, that short oval so beautifully adhered to in the heads on the Parthenon frieze, and a most distinguishing feature of Attic art in the age of Pheidias. The tolerably developed style, and round, oval face, warrant us in placing this representation of Attica's great patron goddess in the latter half of the sixth century.

On the Acropolis have been found several much-injured seated figures, clad in long garments. One of these statues, having on the lap a *diptychon*, is thus probably characterized as a scribe or clerk of the accounts, and is dressed in the old-fashioned, trailing Ionian garments.³⁶⁰ This figure was doubtless consecrated on the sacred mountain with a religious purpose. Its form and subject call to mind Egyptian representations. Although the Egyptian scribe is usually sitting on the ground, he is also often seen in small bronzes, raised, as here, on a chair, as illustrated by figures in the Berlin Museum.³⁶¹ But the garments of Egyptian statues are without independent character, and rest flatly against the body without folds; whereas in these works found in Attica, as well as in those found on Delos, and described above (p. 194), the drapery was represented at first by engraved lines; then it becomes somewhat raised, lying in small rolls over the form; and finally, in more advanced work, we see the drapery show the form beneath, under lines and folds of natural fall. From the study of twenty pedestals of tomb-monuments of this time, it is evident that on some seven or eight of them were standing statues, and on others seated forms, especially of females.³⁶²

A remarkable sphinx (Fig. 107), discovered among the tombs at Spata, and of Parian marble, is one of the earliest monuments in the round from Attic graves, but is more advanced than a similar figure discovered on Delos (p. 195). It shows that strange monster with large wings and smiling face. A *calathos* crowns the head, a necklace encircles the throat, and about the face the hair lies in waves. This transformation from the Egyptian Sphinx is probably traceable to the Ionians of Asia Minor, where the male monster of the Orient seems to have been changed into a female.³⁶³ This enigmatical figure from Spata, arousing so many questions as to its relationship, exact purport, and mythic significance, throws much light on the state of sculpture in Attica in early times. It was evidently meant to be raised, and seen from below; since the back is left very much in the rough. That the sculptor depended to a great extent upon color for his details is most evident. Its feathers still show red and dark green or blue; the hair is brown;



Fig 107. Sphinx discovered at Spata in Attica. Athens.

and the head-dress is adorned in front with rosettes, scratched into the marble, and then painted. The face of this sphinx has the long oval, thin and meagre, of the Nike by Archermos of Chios, and of the so-called Apollo of Thera, another indication of the influence of the art of the islands upon Attica.

One other tombstone figure in the round, now in Athens, which from its quaint style, and place of discovery in the wall of Themistocles, is supposed to belong to the sixth century, shows us a seated female, very like several works from the necropolis of Miletos, now in the Louvre. It is another witness to the influences from the Asia-Minor coast upon early Attic sculpture.



Fig. 108. Part of the Tombstone of a Youthful Athlete. Athens.

Passing over to the reliefs which the old Athenians put up in memory of their dead, we shall find that one of these, like the seated figure just mentioned, has a special interest, as confirming the historical incident recorded by Thukydides, that, when the Athenians under Themistocles built about their threatened city a wall of defence against the Persians, so great was their haste, that even ancient tombstones from the neighborhood were torn down, and used like common stone. In the ruins of this wall this quaint relief was discovered, its date being thus certainly fixed as before the time of Themistocles. Having done its part against the barbarian invaders, it is now rescued from oblivion, and, in the museum of the Archæological Society at Athens, receives due honor from all students of early Attic art. Two fragments of this originally long slab were found: on one part appears the head (Fig. 108), and on the other the feet. In width it was only sufficient to admit of the tall, slender figure that occupied it. Its confined limits may be due to Solon's sumptuary

law, which restricted the dimensions of tombstones to so unpretentious a size that ten men could execute a single one in three days.³⁶⁴ We see here a beardless youth, in whose hand is a disk, raised behind his head to the shoulder; and we may imagine him as walking in the solemn procession. How clearly this fragment shows obedience to that growing artistic feeling which characterized the Greek sculptor alone! Not content with an arid background, he sought to occupy it, not, as was done in older works, by the artificial addition of rosettes and scrolls, but by filling the vacant space in a graceful way with the composition itself. This is done here by the disk which characterizes the athlete, and perhaps indicates further that he had been a winner in the games. His long, stiff hair, gathered in a coil, which was probably in reality of gold, illustrates one of the elaborate styles of old Attic head-dress, and shows how desirable was the change to short hair afterwards introduced. The youth's well-curved jaw, strong chin, short upper lip, and liveliness of expression, are in his favor; yet there is but little promise for the future of Attic sculpture in the excessively plain face, with its protrait-like, bulbous nose, swelling, superficially placed almond-shaped eyes, in full front view (although the face is in profile), and high cheek-bones, together with the clumsy, ill-drawn hand. The forehead and chin form one curve, broken only by the abruptly protruding nose. In this early Attic relief, there is as yet no sign of that true Greek profile (an artistic development of later times) in which mouth and chin retreat decidedly behind the exquisite line of brow and nose. The smirking lips of this youthful athlete are foreign to the sweet dignity of later Attic faces. But a certain exuberance of life is evident in the beaming face, without the luxurious, sleepy fulness of the Ephesos heads, which may indicate the dawning Attic spirit, as we have seen it also in the Athena head (Plate I.).

Similar in style to this relief, is that figure inscribed Aristion, the work of Aristocles (Fig. 109), and now in the museum of the Theseion at Athens. Near the village of Velanidezza, on Marathon's plain, are several hillock-tombs, having a hollow centre, in which ashes, vases, etc., are found, and from which several ruined grave-chambers diverge, — a development, doubtless, of the older form, as seen at Mykene and elsewhere. There the whole grave had to be opened whenever a new burial occurred: here the separate chambers secured undisturbed repose to those already interred. Near the top of one of these large tombs was found the long, narrow slab on which Aristion appears, somewhat less than life-size.³⁶⁵ His firm posture; his hair and beard, laid in precise order; his helmet, armor, and lance, — mark him as one of Attica's sturdy warriors of the good olden time. Judging from the letters of the inscription, this monument must be placed before the end of the sixth century, and consequently long previous to the battle of Marathon. The warrior's well-arranged hair gives the impression of being prepared for battle, according to the custom

of the olden times ; and we notice that the eyes are in full front view, while form and face are in profile. That below this erect soldier, in painted relief, was an additional scene, which, being only painted, has now disappeared, may be inferred from the tombstone of Lyseas, found but a few steps removed, and which has the painting at the base still preserved.³⁶⁶



Fig. 109. Tombstone of Aristion,
by Aristocles. Athens.

Under Lyseas' slender, draped figure, which is wreathed, and carries an olive-branch and *cantharos*, appears a youth on a galloping horse, referring, doubtless, to some victory won by the deceased in the Panathenaic or Panhellenic games, — a supposition strengthened by the fact, that a part of a second horse is to be seen beyond the rider. The comparison of the letters of Lyseas' monument with those of an inscription from the altar, dedicated (525–510 B.C.) by the Peisistratidæ, and found recently in Athens, shows that Lyseas' tombstone is the older, thus giving us the date for similar monuments.³⁶⁷ It is not a little remarkable that the whole of the Lyseas' stele is simply painted, while the Aristion and others have painting and carving united on the same monument.

On these Attic tombstones, how different the subjects from those found in Lykia or Sparta ! Not the bringing of offerings, or symbolic formulas of any kind, meet us here, but the youthful disk-thrower, the brave warrior, or the long-robed citizen, and the swift racer, subjects taken from the stream of national and real life, and appealing to all by their actuality. The forms are still archaic ; but we see in these oldest specimens of Attic art a spirit which should characterize it, even in later times, and give it that attractiveness so foreign to the colder art of its neighbors.

These reliefs, contrasted with the heads already considered, show how far Attic reliefs in this century were in advance of statuary ; and that relief was native to the land, appears from the fact, that it is always in Pentelic marble, while statuary is still in foreign stone. In this light, the marvellous attainments made by Attic art in relief during the coming, the fifth century, are better understood. We see a prophecy of that future sureness in technique, and feeling for style ; since this superior skill in relief could not fail in time to influence statuary. It would seem, as has been well said by Loeschcke, as though the connected flowing lines of

the profile, the delicate moulding of the chin and cheek, which mark Attic heads in the round, in the fifth century, as distinguished from those of the Argive school, were due to the practice and feeling developed in first representing the profile of the face in relief. The Argive school, on the other hand, developing exclusively statuary, seems to have worked more from the front view, and thus came to emphasize the chin too strongly for beauty of profile.³⁶⁸

Opposite to Attica lies the large island of Ægina, which Pindar describes as a great seat of commerce, a heaven-set pillar for strangers of every clime. Here, there is reason to believe, was also a flourishing art in this sixth century. Tradition gives us the name of Smilis as one of its oldest sculptors, who executed a Hera for her great temple at Samos, as well as the Hours for the Temple of Hera at Olympia.³⁶⁹ Of the Hera we may perhaps form a faint, although not very favorable, idea, from figures of the goddess on ancient coins of Samos, in which the extended arms seem to rest on supports, and the body appears no better than a covered log.³⁷⁰ Of works which can be assigned to the sixth century, purporting to come from Ægina, there are very few. One of these, a marble head owned by M. Saburoff, is worthy of notice as a witness to the attempts at portraiture made by the art of this olden time.³⁷¹ This head has very short hair and beard, and a carefully finished, fuzzy mustache. The corners of the mouth have a friendly expression, and are well executed. This care is seen also even in such details as the glands in the inner corners of the eyes. Around the forehead the hair is represented with all the irregularities of nature. The softness of the flesh is given admirably in the highly finished cheeks, almost shining with their fine polish. But the protruding eyes, and the ears adhering to the head, show the necessity of improvement before the celebrated Ægina marbles in Munich could be produced.

Although no excavations have as yet been made at Chalkis or Eretria, very ancient colonies of the Ionians, and most important centres of trade during the sixth century, still it is possible, from the analogy of vases and inscriptions, that thence were exported to Italy very many of the bronzes which have, hitherto, been called Etruscan.³⁷² Such are probably the horse-eared and horse-hoofed satyrs, which are found in different places.³⁷³

Having mustered the characteristic specimens of very archaic sculptures in Greece and its adjoining lands, we may turn to its colonies in Sicily and Southern Italy. But one sculptor, Clearchos from Rhegion, who seems to have been a scholar of Dipoinos and Skyllis, is mentioned from this remoter part of the Greek world; but of the works of this master we know almost nothing.³⁷⁴ Temple sculptures have, however, been preserved to us from the old colony of Selinus in Sicily, and are now in Palermo. The ruins of three temples are still to be seen in ancient Selinus, which was founded by Doric colonists from Megara in Sicily, a town which had itself been founded by Doric

settlers from Megara in Greece in Olymp. 18. Selinus was settled, it is believed, in the latter half of the seventh century; and hence the reliefs of the oldest temple must be dated after that time. The metopes are not in marble, but in the limestone of the country, and measure each about one meter square. They are decorated with mythological scenes in very high and round relief, quite different from the flat and geometrical reliefs of Laconia, illustrated on p. 206. On one, a beardless but lusty Heracles (Fig. 110) carries off the Kercopes brothers, those thievish knaves who, according to myth, were wont, despite their mother's warnings, to waylay unwary travellers.³⁷⁵ Their kidnapping propensities carried them so far, that they fell upon the wandering Heracles, as the hero slept beneath a tree, with his weapons by his side. Aroused by their approach, he made them his captives, binding one to each end of a pole, which he swung over his shoulders, and bore them away, as is represented in the relief. In this condition, as the story adds, they had leisure to repent their folly; reminding one another of their mother's warnings, and expressing their grief in so droll a manner, that the hero was provoked to laughter, and released them. The second of these old reliefs (Fig. 111) represents another of the favorite myths of the Greek religion, in which Perseus, in the presence of Athena, the protectress of all Greek heroes, combats with evil, and cuts off the head of Medusa, one of the three terrible Gorgon sisters.³⁷⁶ The gaze of this monster was fabled to petrify all upon whom it was turned: but Athena had taught Perseus to elude its fatal spell; and in this relief he is represented as giving Medusa the mortal wound from whose bloody drops already springs up the winged horse Pegasus, which she holds in her arms. How anxious is the ancient sculptor to make us acquainted with every detail of the story! The successive events are crowded into the relief, as though occurring simultaneously. The bold and harsh naturalness of these figures makes them appear almost a caricature of nature. The broad face given the Medusa is, no doubt, intended to express the traditional and fear-inspiring conception of that monster. And in the greater assurance with which it is rendered, we feel that the sculptor is following an established type, already worked out for him, which is not the case with the remaining part of the figure. The heavy proportions, and round, vigorous build, of all the figures, speak a language, moreover, which is unlike any thing we have met with before; and there can be no doubt, that these deeply carved sculptures, well suited for their place in the massive Doric architecture they adorned, mirror local peculiarities which developed forms in Sicily different from those in Ionia and Greece itself. Many details, not produced by the chisel, were brought out with color, traces of which are still visible on Athena's *egis*.

In looking back over the sculptures of the sixth century, preserved to us in such stately numbers, one fact is very evident, that the old masters, in their working, held on to given types, a few of which are happily preserved to us,

showing different stages of growth. Among such, for the nude form are the figures often called Apollo's, standing stiffly with the hands at the sides, or with fore-arms raised; for the draped, we have the seated figures of Miletos, and the standing ones of Delos; and in relief, the most interesting series of gravestones from Sparta.

This holding on to certain old types was, as we have seen, a peculiarity also of Egyptian and Oriental sculpture; but the Greek, unlike his predecessors, freely handled such types, and boldly made innovations and improvements upon them. There can be little doubt, however, that this clinging to certain given types in his formative stage had a most salutary effect in keeping him within bounds, and in developing a well-disciplined school.

While the ancient sculptor's imagination was gradually unfolding, and his hand was thus gaining in skill, he was, we must believe, greatly influenced by the



Fig. 110. *Metope from Selinus. Heracles carrying off the Keroopes. Palermo.*



Fig. 111. *Metope from Selinus. Perseus slaying the Gorgon. Palermo.*

sight of the rude puppet images of his gods, hung with precise drapery, and overladen with jewellery, as well as by the sight of the people about him decked out in Oriental taste, as were the Ionians of old, or clad in the severely simple robes of the Doric people. The Ionians of Samos early wore an excess of jewellery, following the custom of their neighbors, the Lydians. Long hair was customary in Attica, for men as well as women; and the cut of the Doric *chiton* was proverbially simple. The long Ionian garments, we are told, did not pass out of use in Athens until the time of Pericles; and the artificial cut and elaborate folds of the statue of Hera, found on Samos (Fig. 96), may perhaps hint to us what the sculptor saw in life. The dainty mode of holding the fingers, as seen in grasping a sceptre, staff, vase, or flower, or in lifting the garment from the ground, was, doubtless, likewise common in that quaint old time; it being said, that, in offering boxes of incense and the like, they were presented with three fingers. The very particularity with which every seam, elaborate border,

or ornament, is given on the statues and reliefs of this olden time, goes to prove that the sculptor saw such details in nature, and tried to reproduce them. Those were the good old times honored in ancient song, which speaks of the Samians wandering in Hera's sanctuary, with slow and solemn tread, in long robes of snowy white, with hair in orderly locks about the head.³⁷⁷

But as in time the people develop a better taste, and truer sense of grace and beauty, renouncing their overladen magnificence, and wearing their hair and garments in a manner better suited to reflect the beauty of the form, then we shall see the work of art feel the change, the simplicity of natural grace overcome the fussy attire and whimsical *frisure* of these older works, and the intricate and artificial costumes of ladies on these early reliefs disappear before the chaste simplicity of the maidens of later art.

CHAPTER XIV.

ADVANCED ARCHAIC SCULPTURE, FROM ABOUT 500 TO ABOUT 450 B.C.: ASIA MINOR AND THE ISLANDS.

Introductory. — State of Asia Minor and Greece at the Commencement of the Fifth Century B.C. — Triumph of the Greeks over the Persians. — Its Results. — Exalted Position of Athens. — The Development of Philosophy, Poetry, and Art. — The Athletic Games. — Their Antiquity. — Revival of Olympic and other Games. — Honors awarded to the Victors. — Influence of Games on Art. — The Temple. — Its Purposes. — Plan of the Structure. — Its Adornments and Great Statue. — Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian Orders. — Influence of Painting. — Ionian Sculptures. — Lykian Sculptures. — Sculptures in the British Museum. — Leucothea Relief. — Sculptures and Terra-cottas from the Islands. — Thasos Reliefs. — Philis' Tombstone. — Ægina. — Its Political Position. — Traditional Character of its Art. — Its Early Artists. — Preference for Bronze. — Importance of Statues of Athletes. — Glaukias, Callon, and Onatas. — Remains of Sculpture at Olympia. — Onatas' other Works. — Æginetan Marbles at Munich. — Sculptures of West Pediment. — Their advanced Archaism. — Sculptures of East Pediment. — Their Superiority to those of the West Pediment. — Difficulty of forming a Correct Impression of these Marbles. — Their Authors. — Their General Characteristics. — Dodona Bronze. — Strangford Apollo. — Marble Tombstone from Ægina.

DURING the sixth century B.C., which we have discussed in the two preceding chapters, important changes had come over the Greek world. The armies of the Persian king had conquered the Greek states of Asia Minor, which were incorporated by that monarch into his empire. Every attempt at revolt had been ruthlessly met, as in the destruction of Miletos. Thus the Ionian civilization on the eastern shores of the Ægean had received a cruel check, and the ambitious Persian now began to lust after Greece itself. The Greek states had steadily developed independent institutions: Corinth had a profitable trade, controlling the Western waters; Ægina's fleets ruled the Ægean; while Athens was still absorbed in her internal affairs.

But the storm-clouds rolling up from the East threatened to engulf the little land; and, in the first and second decades of the fifth century, Darius, and then Xerxes, poured their hordes, collected from a vast empire, into Greece, laid waste her sacred places, and destroyed Athens by fire. Terror fell upon all the land, but not that of despair; for the noble deeds of Marathon, Salamis, Plataiai, and Mycale checked the conqueror's course. The Greek David overcame the Eastern Goliath with the little stone of Hellenic freedom and culture. Xerxes and his army were scattered, like forest-leaves before the autumn wind;

and the monarch was a trembling fugitive. Some of the states had joined the Persian king; others, too feeble to share in the victories, had stood by; but Athens had been in the front of the conflict, and came rapidly to enjoy a position which enabled her to dispute with Sparta the leadership of the Hellenic cities after the Persian war. Comparative peace now long prevailed, when thank-offerings were executed by the people of Greece at their great shrines. A colossal Poseidon was put up on the isthmus of Corinth, consecrated by the victors of Plataiai. A figure eighteen feet high, carrying in her hand a ship's prow, was consecrated at the Delphic shrine, in honor of the naval victories at Salamis and Artemision. A colossal Zeus was put up in Olympia; and a colossal bronze tripod, borne on the coils of snakes, was offered at the shrine at Delphi, in honor of Plataiai. A part of these coils, with the names of the sharers in the victories engraved upon them, now stands in the Atmeidan at Constantinople; and a piece of one of the serpents' heads, a masterly work of archaic precision, in the little-known museum of St. Irene in the same city. In state, Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, and Kimon now made the history of Athens that of Greece, and brought it close upon the time of the great Pericles (459 B.C.). The wise rule of that statesman, and the unhappy civil war which broke out in 430 B.C., raging until near the close of the century, give us the remainder of the historical background of this greatest period in Greek history, against which its art stands out in harmonious relief. To the military glories of this age was added that of poetry; and how sublime the names that meet us! The lyric poet Pindar aroused to religious fever by his odes during the earliest quarter of the century, and consecrated numerous and costly gifts to the gods, standing witnesses of his devotion. But not in the Peloponnesos or Bœotia was poetic song the sweetest and strongest. In Athens it meets us a loud chorus, in which many voices mingle. Craggy Æschylos, of a noble Attic family, takes the lead in age, and with true Attic spirit is more proud to have been one of the warriors of Marathon than the creator of sublime dramas. His younger contemporary, Sophocles, who in the blooming beauty of youth led the rhythmic dance at the celebration of the victory of Salamis, continued till 405 B.C. to picture to the Athenians a world of highest and noblest thought in dramas of perfect form. At the ripe age of ninety he was laid away to rest in Colonos, honored by the people, and, as story says, by the great god Dionysos himself. Euripides, about fifteen years Sophocles' junior, completes this trio of Attic poets in the fifth century; but his works belong in spirit to the time that followed the Peloponnesian war, so full were they of passion and pathos. But our picture of the poetic activity of this time would be incomplete did we not call to mind the merry comedy, originating in the festivities of Dionysos, and taking its scenes, not from the higher regions of poetic myth, but from every-day life. Here we see the master Cratinos, followed by his still greater scholar Aristophanes, who give us many priceless glimpses of that day, and the

important part which art then played. From all these poets we gain a vivid picture of the manifoldness of Attic society, its gracefulness, earnestness, and noble humanity, so wonderfully to be reflected in works of art of beautiful simplicity and grandeur. In philosophy, Anaxagoras from the coast of Ionia, and the Athenian Socrates, meet us. Thus many of the greatest names of history in politics, literature, and philosophy are crowded into this hundred years; and, turning to sculpture, we find their worthy peers. But so numerous and so varied are these masters, and so great is the progress made, that we shall be obliged to consider each half of this century separately, — the first including a stately group of older men, and those who should well-nigh free art from all archaic restraint; and the second half embracing within its limits the highest names, such as Pheidias of Athens, and Polycleitos of Argos, with their riper creations.

But before considering these masters, and the works of this great century, let us cast a glimpse at those most important factors, the *athletic games* and the developed *temple structure*, which in their elements had, doubtless, long before, influenced sculpture, but, in their perfected form, are most intimately bound up with the great artistic creations of this age, and necessary to an understanding of their purport and character. The athletic games of the Greeks claim our special attention, as exerting an untold influence in the development of physical strength and beauty among the people, as well as directly influencing sculpture by affording constant and natural opportunity for the observation of the human form in most varied attitudes, and by offering a field for plastic expression of that form in non-hieratic statues, put up to commemorate victory, and proclaim the fame of the victor.³⁷⁸ From earliest times such competitive games had been celebrated, each township having had its agonistic contests in connection with the local worship. The Olympic games, which, as was believed, had been founded by mythic heroes, gained a national significance when revived about 776 B.C., to be observed every four years; and from this first Olympiad the Greeks reckoned their chronology, so weighty was the institution in their eyes. During the sixth century, three other great national festivals — the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean — likewise gained importance. The Olympic games, which originally were simple, lasting but a single day, soon burst the old limits, and became by the sixth and fifth centuries a complicated factor in Greek culture. During the five days of the festival, war was hushed throughout the land, and the peace of Zeus prevailed. Multitudes wandered safely towards the retired valley as pilgrims. Each state sent ambassadors, even from the most distant colonies; the wealthiest citizens considering it a privilege to bear the expense of this mission. Although the festival fell in high summer, the sanctity of time and place forbade the assemblage to go with covered heads. The discomforts of heat, dust, and the crowd, were outweighed by the fact that each found that which satisfied him. Here were manly con-

tests, gorgeous display, music, art, recitations by poets and orators, the re-unions of friends, a great fair with crowded booths, hawkers, jugglers, fortune-tellers, and strange saints, to enliven the scene ; while offerings burned on Zeus' great altar, as well as on a hundred others throughout the sacred grove.

The athletic games consisted in double and sevenfold foot-races in the *stadion*, boxing, the *pancration*, — a compound of boxing and wrestling, — and the *pentathlon*, comprising five different games, — foot-racing, leaping, throwing the disk, hurling the spear, and the wrestling-match. Besides, there were horse and chariot races.

In Crete and Sparta, previous to Olymp. 15, athletes had run the race nude. At that time this custom was introduced at Olympia, to be followed later in the wrestling games. Married women were forbidden, on pain of death, to be spectators ; the only exception being the priestess of Demeter, who had an honored seat assigned her. The maidens of Elis were, however, allowed to run in certain races, but only every fifth year, and at the festival of Hera ; the race-course assigned them being one-sixth less than that of the men. At the great Olympic festivals all free-born Greeks, high and low, were permitted to enter the field, provided they had complied with the rules ; but equestrian contests were necessarily confined to the wealthy. The owners of horses and chariots, if not appearing in person, might contend by proxy ; and great was the rivalry which sprang up, as to the number and magnificence of these equipages. The recent excavations at Olympia have brought to light the *stadion* for the foot-race, about 183 meters (600 feet) in length, where the point whence the runners started, and the goal, may still be seen.³⁷⁹ The site of the hippodrome to the south-east of the *stadion*, and parallel with it, has unfortunately been swept away by the freshets of the Alpheios. The only preserved ancient hippodrome in Greece, that on Mount Lycaion, measures about three hundred meters. It was considered an essential part of the education of the Greek youth, to have received instruction in the *palaestra*, or wrestling-school ; and, in later life, every citizen shared in the privileges of the gymnasium. In the north-west corner of the ruins at Olympia may be seen the remains of a large gymnasium, 210.50 meters long, and surrounded by rows of Doric columns, where the youth doubtless practised in leaping, racing, and hurling the disk. Close at hand is the smaller *palaestra* for boxing and wrestling, surrounded by rooms and halls doubtless intended for dressing and bathing.³⁸⁰ Before admission to the games at Olympia, the competitors were brought into the presence of the judgment-visiting Zeus with his forked lightnings. There they sacrificed a boar on the altar in the *Buleuterion*, the ruins of which have been found. Here they gave their oath, that for ten months they had prepared for the festival by rigid abstemiousness ; that they were freemen of pure Hellenic blood, and had not been guilty of sacrilege. Finally they swore adherence to the regulations, the slightest infringement of which was punished with the heavy fine of a talent (twelve

hundred dollars). From the fines thus collected, bronze statues (*sanes*) began, in the fourth century B.C., to be erected to the vengeance-visiting Zeus, along the road which led to the *stadion*,—a warning to all competitors as they entered. Pausanias saw sixteen such statues, and the recent excavations have unearthed their pedestals; but of the dread statues themselves, all that has been found are bronze fragments of the thunderbolts and a colossal foot.³⁸¹ Judges and competitors entered by a secret passage—recently found—the *stadion*, where the youths, before assembled thousands, engaged in contest, accompanied by the music of flutes.³⁸² The contests ended, the judges assembled in the great Temple of Zeus; and while a triumphal hymn to Heracles, the first winner in the games, sounded from the galleries, the victor was crowned. Previous to Olymp. 7 (752 B.C.), the prize had been a costly tripod, or a large sum of gold; but afterwards it was a simple chaplet of olive-leaves, cut with a golden knife from the tree which, according to myth, Heracles had planted in the sacred grove. It is significant that the winner was not permitted to take away with him this wreath, which was hung up in the sacred place.

The victor's name, as well as that of his father and country, were sounded by the herald before the representatives of all Greece; and his name was enrolled among those who had before distinguished themselves. On his return home, he was welcomed with a brilliant ovation from his compatriots, who considered the triumph won as their own. A breach was made in the city-walls for his reception, to intimate, says Plutarch, that the state which possessed such a citizen had no need of other bulwarks. Passing through in a chariot drawn by four white horses, he was borne along the principal street of the city, to the temple of the guardian deity, where hymns of victory were sung. Poets like Pindar sounded the victor's praises; he had a seat of honor at festivals, and, in Sparta, a place by the king in battle; he was paid a yearly revenue in some of the states; while in Athens he ate at public expense, was freed from all duties, and received a present of five hundred drachms. But a still higher honor was awarded the Olympic victor; and that was, the privilege of having his statue put up in the sacred grove at Olympia, to be repeated in his native town. These statues were seldom portraits, for such were allowed only to those who had been thrice victorious. Possibly this restriction at Olympia was directed against that old custom, according to which, as we have seen, the early worshippers dedicated images of themselves to the gods. According to Pausanias, the first statues to victors were stiff, wooden images, which began to be erected Olymp. 59 (about 544 B.C.), but which must have soon been supplanted by bronze. This custom, once developed, continued to be a source of employment to sculptors for many centuries, even down to the time of Roman rule, as the recently discovered inscriptions show.³⁸³ These statues were often erected long after the victory; the expense being borne by the victor, his relatives,

friends, or native town. Before being accepted, statues were subjected to scrutiny from the judges, more severe, it is said, than that which the victors themselves had undergone. Moreover, the horses who had played an important part in the triumph also came in for a share in these representations ; either bearing their riders, or represented as harnessed before the chariot, and frequently having their names inscribed. Often, however, as discoveries have shown, their images were very small.³⁸⁴ How many masters were employed to people the grove at Olympia with such commemorative monuments we shall see as we take up the works from the early half of the fifth century.

But the temples at Olympia, as elsewhere, were also a most important factor in influencing sculpture ; and recent excavations have thrown untold light on the development and purposes of both. The temple served, not only to shelter the statue of the divinity and the other gods, the guests, as it were, of this divinity : it was also a treasury for the costly and abundant votive offerings collected through the centuries. Moreover, the house of the god served, in some cases, as the bank whence the state moneys were disbursed.³⁸⁵ The oldest excavated temple on the soil of Greece, that of Hera at Olympia, seems to have been pre-eminently a treasure-house ; and its very ancient form, in which the walls of the sacred place were divided off into niches, something after the manner of chapels in old Roman-Catholic churches, would have afforded excellent shelter for the accumulated treasure.³⁸⁶ That the temple building was also very frequently used for sacrificial worship, seems evident from the pit discovered in two temples at Samothrake, into which flowed the blood of the offerings.³⁸⁷ The distinction once made between temples of worship and those in honor of the agonistic games, according to which the latter were not sacred, but mere halls for festive gatherings, has melted away, as an empty theory, before the discoveries which prove that the new great temples, in which the prizes were distributed, were quite as holy as the older ones, having the same relation to them that a new church-building nowadays has to an old one.³⁸⁸ To the Greeks the games were, moreover, not a secular institution. They were ordained by the oracle, like the hecatombs, to propitiate the gods, memorials of the combats which divine beings had fought with the powers of evil. Zeus and Athena conquering the giants, Heracles and Theseus overcoming the Amazons, were the mythic prototypes of the combats, so religiously observed that they were commenced and closed with sacrifice. Every thing in connection with them was holy. The judges purified themselves in a sacred spring, the lots were drawn from a sacred urn, and Pindar calls the decision a sacred one. Recent discoveries, moreover, make it probable, that in front of the great temple-statues, both of Zeus at Olympia, and of Athena in the Parthenon, an altar stood, whose smoke rose up through the open space over the centre of the holy place or *cella*.³⁸⁹

Following the guidance of the latest student of the Parthenon, Dörpfeld,

who has cleared away many difficulties, let us look at that crowning work of Greek genius in which all the patient steps upward, all the experimenting traceable in older temples, seem blended into a perfect organic whole.³⁹⁰ The main body of the structure, completely encircled by a row of columns which supported the roof, consisted of four distinct parts; namely, two porticos and their adjoining apartments (Fig. 112). In both porticos the pillars were united to each other by a lofty bronze protection, doubtless open-work, reaching away to the architrave, and forming a safe repository for treasure or costly offerings. Through the *pronaos*, or front portico, was entered the *hecatompedos*, that sacred place where stood the great statue. Around three sides of this space ran a row of columns, forming thus an encircling aisle. Not in a niche, but within this colonnade, and receiving light from an opening in the roof, stood the great temple-statue, so that worshippers walking in the aisles could view its colossal form from all sides. That there was in the Parthenon an upper row of columns supporting the roof, and forming a gallery from which people could look down upon the statue, does not seem probable; as no mention of such a gallery has been made, and no steps have been found leading up to it, as at Olympia. In front of the statue was the space above which the roof was open, affording light. This space, including the place occupied by the statue,

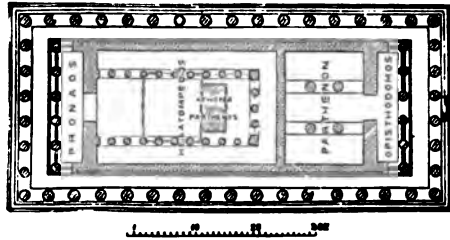


Fig. 112. Ground-plan of the Parthenon, according to Dörpfeld.

had a protecting screen around it, running from pillar to pillar, and serving, doubtless, to keep off the crowd. In this part of the temple, the *hecatompedos*, occupied by the great statue, hung the wreaths, and stood votive offerings. Against the deep red lining of the walls the mellow gold and ivory of the statues and the golden garlands must have formed a luxurious harmony of color, to which the stern lines of columns, and easier ones of the statues, added their simple beauty. Here each object was doubtless arranged with regard to its surroundings, and in true taste; as we may infer from the analogy of Delos, where, as the order in the inscriptions intimates, there was genuine artistic grouping.³⁹¹

To the rear of this columned and richly furnished *hecatompedos* was a kind of sacristy, but without a connecting-door. Here were stored the archives, and all manner of objects used in the great festivals and ritual. The silver vessels, here kept for the processions, numbered, at one time, one hundred and fifty. Here were the garments and jewels worn at great festivals, as well as booty, besides many injured objects, such as golden leaves fallen from the wreaths, nails from the doors of the *cella*, and the like. Into this apartment, called, in official language, the Parthenon, the access was through the rear portico, or *opisthodomos*, in one part of which were kept the moneys of Athena,

and in the other those of foreign gods, forming the bank of Athens and the confederate states. From this the running-expenses of the city were defrayed, — divine benefactions of the goddess, as it were, disbursed by her priests. Indeed, the union of the temple service with secular public life explains the fact, that coins long bore the head of divinity, which gave place to the portrait of a ruler only when the very intimate connection between the god and the republican states was changed by the stepping in of a single ruler, as came to be the case in the Alexandrine age.

But these sacred structures, sheltering the nation's gods and treasure, were themselves beautified by art; their architectural marbles forming some of the most precious witnesses to the ancient sculptor's skill. The original Doric structure, as discoveries at Olympia and Sicily have shown, was of wood; its most exposed parts being protected by painted terra-cotta mouldings, which were afterwards applied in like manner to stone.³⁹² But of the slow process of change from the painted wooden pillar and architrave; from the wooden cornices, with protecting terra-cotta mouldings; the painted terra-cotta disk on the temple summit; and from the plain, round water-spouts, and facings of the *cella*-walls, of the same material or of metal, to their counterparts in marble, in which the genius of the Greeks supplanted the old, cruder adornments with the highest creations of art, — of all this wonderful transmutation we are left with scarcely a witness. Long centuries of experimenting must have been required before sculpture found its appropriate place, and attained that perfect harmony with the architecture which we find in the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders. In the sterner Doric, the massive columns were surmounted by an entablature consisting of a heavy architrave, a frieze, and a strongly pronounced cornice, as may be seen in the best specimen of Attic Doric, the Parthenon (Fig. 113). In this architecture, as found on the soil of Greece and in Sicily, the architrave (*c*) is always plain; but in the old temple at Assos, in Asia Minor, it is more ornate, being sculptured (see p. 182). The Doric frieze (*a*) was composed of triglyphs and metopes (interspaces), the latter being either painted or sculptured. In the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the metopes of this outer frieze were found to be void of sculpture. In the so-called Theseion, at Athens, only the metopes of the front and back, and one or two down the side, were sculptured; but, in the Parthenon, the whole number was adorned with bold, strong figures, in keeping with their isolated character, and enhancing the impression of strength made by the firm, erect lines of the triglyphs. The cornice surrounding the gutter, but not appearing in the engraving, was furnished with sculptural decoration, having openings at intervals which served to spit out the water collected from the roof. At first a tube, then a tongue, is found doing this service; but finally the whole head of the lion most suitably takes their place. At each end of the temple, the sloping sides of the roof, with the horizontal lines of the en-

tablature, formed a triangular space (*b*), compared by the Greeks to the spread wings of an eagle (*aētos*). Bold cornices formed a framework for these pediments, which could not fail to invite the sculptor's chisel. Little by little the sculptors learned to use this space to the best advantage. At first cramped and confined by it, at last we see, as in the Parthenon, architecture and sculp-

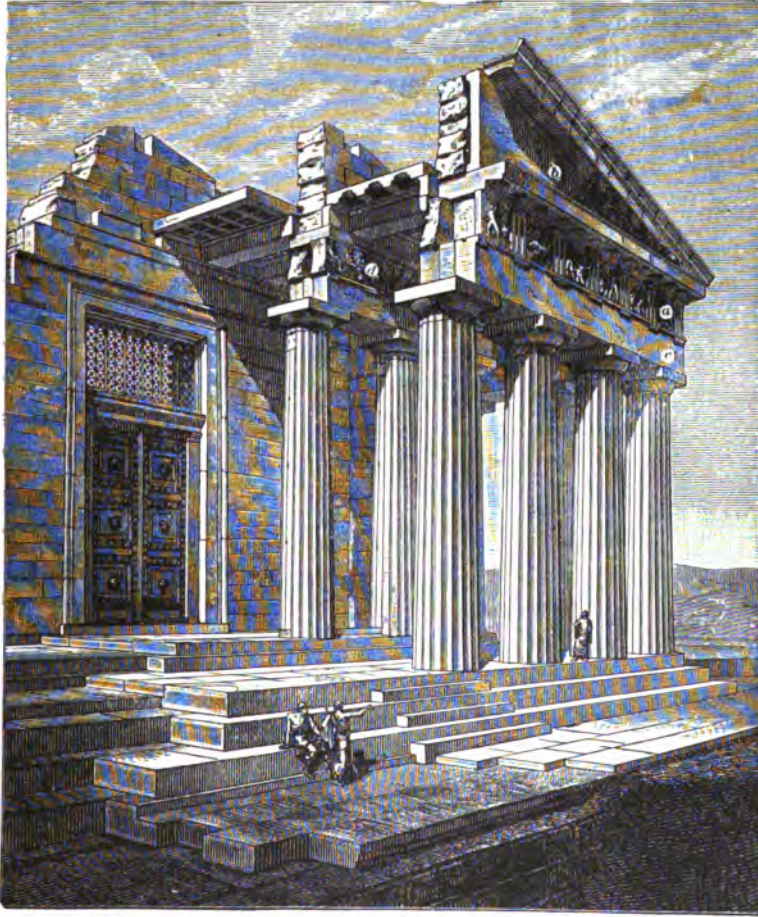


Fig. 113. The North-east Corner of the Parthenon as it now stands: (a) Metopes and Triglyphs; (b) Pediment; (c) Architrave; (d) Frieze around Cella and Portico.

ture combined in harmonious and vital union. The summit and ends of the pediments likewise offered a spot for the sculptor's chisel in forming ornaments called *acroteria*; but these are not preserved in the Parthenon, and do not appear in the cut. In the very old Temple of Hera, at Olympia, a colossal segment of a painted terra-cotta disk crowned the centre; and it is probable, that, in many other cases, figures likewise in terra-cotta crowned summit and corner. At Olympia were found many fragments of such archaic figures, doubtless from the *acroteria* of the Treasure-houses, and representing lions, dolphins,

and a Silenos carrying off a nymph, a motive frequently met with in early Ionian coins.³⁹³ This custom seems to have been copied by the Etruscans, from whose graves several such crowning terra-cotta figures have been preserved to us; one of the most important, now in the Berlin Museum, being a winged female carrying off in her arms a nude boy, and doubtless representing Eos with Kephalos. In later buildings, as the temple to Zeus, at Olympia, huge metal vases finished the ends of the pediments; and a figure of the goddess Victory, of uncertain date, in gilded bronze, crowned its centre. At Ægina, griffins, but of marble, hocked at the ends, and small female figures on each side of a palmette, made up the central *acroterion*, all in the same material. A recent discovery made by Furtwängler, at Delos, shows that there sym-



Fig. 114. *Giants of Temple of Zeus at Aoragaz, Modern Girgenti. (Restored.)*

metrical and beautiful groups, but seeming large in proportion to the pediment, crowned the temple summit, and that the Romans, in their exaggerated *acroteria*, only followed a Greek custom. The only innovation in this line that Romans seem to have made, was the tasteless addition of figures, even on the sloping sides of the pediments, as was done in the case of the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter.³⁹⁴ The walls of the *cella*, or sacred place, and the entablature of Doric porticos, also sometimes received sculpture (*d*). In the earlier Zeus temple at Olympia, this was not, as in the Parthenon, a continuous frieze running around the building, but was still composed, like that on the exterior, of triglyphs and metopes. The interior of the temple in one case, namely at Phigaleia, was found to have had a frieze

around the top of the columns. In Sicily, in one case, colossal forms of giants stood around the inner wall, as though supporting the roof (Fig. 114).

The more slender and luxurious Ionic and Corinthian orders received sculptural decoration more calculated to enhance the impression of ease and simple elegance conveyed by their architecture. The friezes were never broken, but conceived as a running band, and consequently required a composition which carried the eye on from point to point without interruption. In Ionia, but never in Greece, the bases of the columns were sometimes encircled with reliefs, as in the temple at Ephesos; and, indeed, the Ionic order allowed greater freedom than its stern Doric sister. So a portico might be held by the human figure instead of a column, as in the Erechtheion at Athens. Thus fancy seemed to play with the severe architecture, suiting to its varying character the more supple forms of sculpture.

During the sixth century, the artistic activity of the Greek world had, as

we have seen, first developed along the coasts of Asia Minor and on the neighboring islands. Following the geographical order pursued hitherto, we will, in considering the sculptures of the first half of the fifth century, first take up the art developed in these older seats, but shall find contemporaneous with it far greater monuments and names in Greece itself. In order to picture to ourselves the state of art at this time in the older seats of Ionian culture, we must remember the great part played by painting among that gifted, luxurious people. The names of painters who flourished during the early part of this great century are many: but, alas! the memory of their works has, for the most part, vanished altogether; the activity only of those who worked in Athens being recorded for us. But that the Thasian Polygnotos could now fill Athens with great works, presupposes a schooling and tradition in painting which we must not forget in considering the sculptures of this old age. Although the names of sculptors from Asia Minor are not preserved to us, —and doubtless the encroachments of the Persians did much to check the culture of that flourishing land, —still it is probable, that, were Asia-Minor soil sufficiently excavated, monuments of this age would there also come to light. And, in fact, in Lykia, that retired mountain land in the south, happily many ripe archaic monuments have been discovered, which seem to testify to

the prevalence of a growing art, the continuation, we must believe, of the Ionian art of the earlier day, mingling, indeed, with the foreign elements it there found. A marble relief, now in the British Museum, representing, doubtless, a funeral procession, in which join horsemen, chariots, and footmen, certainly shows an advance upon the lax, heavy forms of the Harpy monument; the horses, especially, being rendered with much firmness.³⁹⁴ Their curious trappings are, however, not Greek; and we see the same kind of artificial head-gear as in Assyrian and Persian figures. Numerous reliefs of archaic sphinxes from tombs having beautiful female heads, with severe forms, showing that art was not fully free, were also there found: some of these are in the British Museum. These, set in as panels, decorated the façade directly under the rounded top of those tombs peculiar to Lykia, one of which may be seen on the right in Fig. 186. From Miletos, after the destruction of that city and the removal of its treasures at the close of the sixth century, it is not strange that we have no remains. From the remaining cities of Asia Minor the excavator may yet unearth still buried treasure. That graceful relief in the Villa



Fig. 116. Tombstone Reliefs in the Villa Albani Rome.

Albani at Rome (Fig. 115), falsely called the Leucothea relief, is doubtless the tombstone of a Greek matron, and has some points of affinity with the scenes in the Harpy monument in Lykia. The site of its discovery is not known, but the marble is the same as that of monuments in Asia Minor; as, for instance, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos; besides, the head of the seated lady is very like the type of an archaic Aphrodite on a series of old coins from Cnidos. The general pose and attitude of the large, standing figure is the same as in the relief of Apollo and the Graces from Ionian Thasos (Fig. 117). These characteristics seem to point to an Ionian origin for this beautiful old monument. Here we see a matron on a graceful chair, beneath which is her basket for wool to be used in spinning, showing her to be a faithful housewife. On later reliefs the deceased often appears actually spinning, with her basket by her side. Here, however, the mother, with basket put aside, seems to fondle



Fig. 116. Terra-cotta Relief from Melos. *Electra at Agamemnon's Grave.* Louvre.

her babe; while other children and a friend approach, one bringing a fillet (*tania*), and the others raising the hand in adoration. The fillets of wool, we shall find, played a most important part in Greek worship and religion. When wreathed with them, every person or thing was set apart as holy, were it priest, sacrificial victim, temple-key, or tiny vase. So many were required, that we are told that women in the market-places made their living solely by their sale. The exact significance of the fillet is, however, uncertain in this scene. The style of the relief is so advanced, that it must belong to an age when sculpture had well-nigh outgrown its old limitations, and was ready to burst all bounds, perhaps some time after the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

The islands promise much, if M. Homolle's discoveries in Delos may be a harbinger of what is to come. The more developed members of the group of statues from that island mentioned on p. 194 f., certainly belong in the time now under consideration; their gracefully quaint forms and drapery taking cap-

tive every eye.³⁹⁵ Archaic reliefs of advanced style in marble are as yet scarce from the islands. A curious class of terra-cottas in open-work (*à jour*), and evidently once applied to wood or stone as decoration, have, however, been found in numbers, especially on Melos, and doubtless mirror in their varied subjects and treatment the more advanced stages of early Ionian art. They are well represented in the British, Berlin, and Paris museums. One of them seems to show us a scene from daily life; but possibly it is from the story of Alcaios and Sappho, the same group appearing on a painted vase in Munich, where their names are added.³⁹⁶ The greater number of the subjects of these interesting terra-cottas, however, represent mythic scenes, and show in their incipient stages motives carried to perfection by a freer art. So the sphinx

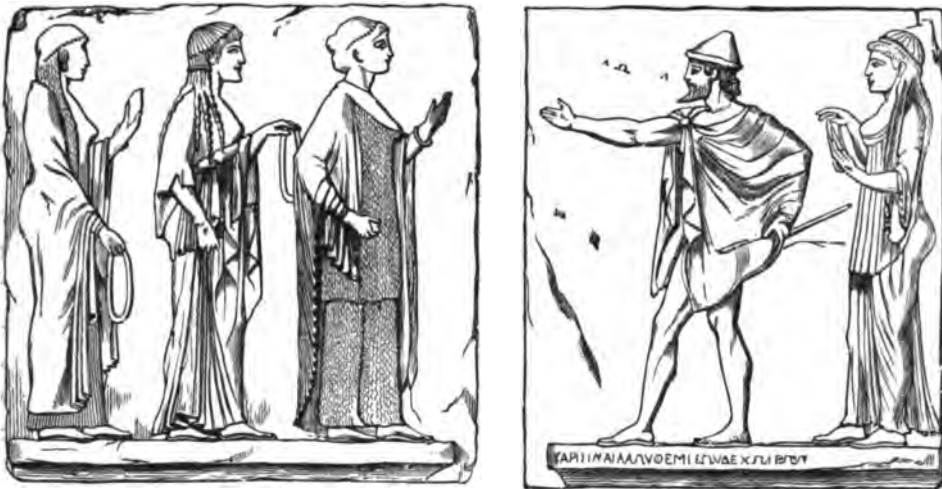


Fig. 117. Part of a Relief in Marble found on Thasos. Louvre.

carries off a youth, perhaps Haimon, son of Creon; and, on others, Bellerophon, mounted on Pegasus, slays the Chimæra; Perseus rides away after slaying the Gorgon; Eos carries off Kephalos; and Cassandra, pursued by Ajax, takes refuge at the sacred image of Athena.³⁹⁷ One of the most important of these terra-cottas is a gayly colored relief in the Louvre, on which occur the names of Electra and Agamemnon (Fig. 116); making it clear that here Electra, mourning by her father's tomb, is addressed by her brother, just returning from his exile. As in all early art, so here, the artist, full of the charming details of the story, has crowded the shifting scenes of song into one short space; and yet how well he has succeeded in conveying to our minds the sorrow of Electra, even in her constrained figure seated before the palmette-crowned grave, marked with her father's name! Like the celebrated figure of the Vatican called Penelope, she sits with one hand on the rock and the other supporting her bended head; while Orestes, accompanied by his friends, approaches, and is about to address her. These quaint terra-cotta reliefs,

although mirroring the old, stiff style, may have been executed during the latter part of the fifth century, and not at the time we have under consideration; since the humbler artists in vases, and doubtless also terra-cotta, were, we know, conservative, and only gave up the old forms after changes had been introduced and innovations made by the greater masters in bronze, marble, and chryselephantine; but, even though late, they must mirror the older style. From Thasos, the home of the great Polygnotos, is a beautiful relief, now in the Louvre, dedicated to Apollo, the nymphs, and Hermes ³⁹⁸ (Fig. 117). In its well-nigh developed style, its struggles with old forms, and still its attainment of grace and genuine artistic truth, we doubtless have a noble witness to the efforts of Ionian art on this island in the north of the Ægean Sea. As this relief now stands in the Louvre directly below a slab of the Parthenon frieze, the affinity, and still the contrast, is most striking. We can, in viewing it, realize, that from such graceful, though still restrained, efforts, the lofty grace of the Parthenon maidens might easily flow. From this island is also a tombstone relief of rare dignity and grace, now removed to the Louvre, and represented on Plate II. of the Selections from Ancient Sculpture accompanying this work. From the inscription we learn that this tombstone relief is of a lady, Philis by name, who here appears seated quietly, and holding her toilet-box, out of which she seems to be taking a roll. How easy and graceful her pose, and what freedom marks her drapery! the numerous buttonings over the right shoulder calling to mind a like feature in the Samos Hera, and only in the end dropping by her chair do the zigzag, regular folds of archaic art appear. Her hair in regularly laid curls, and the shape of the eye not yet fully in profile, are other features indicating that this is the work of a man who has not yet attained the full sculptural freedom seen, for instance, in the Parthenon frieze. And how near of kin it is in style to that frieze, but especially to the Attic tombstones of a perfect art, will appear on comparing it with the lovely Hegeso (Fig. 211). In Philis' beautiful tombstone it would seem as though the sculptor treated the sleeves, the cheek turned towards the observer, and parts of the drapery over the limbs, as if to be colored; since they lack those deeper indentations which bring out the forms by strong shadows. But little more is needed; and these forms, so quaintly modest and graceful, will blossom into true, full beauty. In contemplating this fragment from Thasos, and remembering that there Ionian art must have flourished with great strength to produce a man like the painter Polygnotos, who carried his art to Athens, we may, no doubt, with safety consider such priceless marbles as typical of the subjects and style of work from which the later Attic masters learned, climbing then to still greater perfection.

ÆGINA.

Approaching the coasts of Greece, the first great centre to attract attention is the island Ægina, in heroic times the mother-country of Peleus and Telamon. Its early inhabitants were seafaring merchants, having emporiums from Umbria to Egypt. They were able to drive the Samian pirates from the sea, hanging up their naval trophies on their temple to Athena, and became the first maritime power on the Archipelago. When, before the opening of the Persian war, Darius required the humiliating acknowledgment of his authority in the offering of earth and water, Ægina yielded to his demand, and, it is said out of jealousy, joined the barbarian king against Attica and the other Greek states. It afterwards repented of this unworthy step, and fought bravely against the Persians, but never ceased to hate Athens, and to excite strife between that city and the Peloponnesos. For this the islanders were, later, severely punished, and, being deprived of their independence, were made tributary to the sister state in 456 B.C. Still later, Athens expelled these troublesome neighbors from their island, of which, in 431 B.C., Athenian colonists took possession. With this loss of freedom, Ægina appears also to have lost its place as one of the vigorous art-centres of Greece.

The sculpture of this island, although always mentioned with praise, is invariably characterized by the ancients as harsher and sterner than that of Attica. The Æginetans were said to have kept the feet of the gods stiffly together long after Attic artists had loosed them, and, as it were, made them step out.³⁹⁹ Smilis, as we have seen, is the first known Æginetan sculptor, and lived probably in the earlier part of the sixth century, between Olymp. 50 and 60.

Subsequent to him, there is somewhat of a gap; but there meets us a group of important men between Olymp. 70 and 80 (500-460 B.C.). Most celebrated among these were Callon and Onatas; while their minor contemporaries, Glaukias, Anaxagoras, and Simon, likewise executed important commissions. The creations of these men are all directly connected with bronze working, which, we may believe, the Æginetans had learned from the Samians, with whom they must early have been in close communication; their first sculptor, Smilis, having executed at Samos the great statue of Hera for her temple. Æginetan bronze, indeed, came to be so famous that it was preferred, even by masters outside of the island. But the nature of this superiority is unfortunately unknown, the composition of the various kinds of antique bronze being one of the secrets of the past. Even in Roman times, what the Romans called "Corinthian bronze," containing gold, could no longer be manufactured. Rare and beautiful vessels and ornaments, discovered by von Duhn in 1878, in a grave at Suessula in Southern Italy, were found to have gold in composition, and may illustrate this ancient

kind of bronze.⁴⁰⁰ Most prominent among the objects executed by Æginetan masters are the statues of victorious athletes for the sacred grove at Olympia. Of the works of Glaukias, — whose activity, reckoning for the time of the athletes he celebrated, must have been between Olymp. 70 and 80, or the first half of the fifth century, — only figures connected with the Olympic games are mentioned. He executed for Gelon of Syracuse a chariot and four horses (*quadriga*), in honor of a victory in the Olympic chariot-race, and added a statue of the owner, that Sicilian tyrant.⁴⁰¹ A part of the pedestal of this group, bearing an inscription with the artist's name, was discovered at Olympia in 1878.⁴⁰² Glaukias executed a statue of Theagenes of Thasos, the most honored of all Greek victors. According to Pausanias, he had won thrice in the Pythian, nine times in the Nemean, eleven times in the Isthmian, games, and twice at Olympia.⁴⁰³ A fragmentary record of such victories was recently found at Olympia, inscribed on a broken marble block, and probably belonged to Theagenes' monument.⁴⁰⁴ He received no less than fourteen hundred wreaths in recognition of his skill, as well as numerous statues from Greeks and barbarians, which were reputed to have power to heal diseases, and were honored with religious rites.⁴⁰⁵ Another Æginetan master, Anaxagoras, executed for all Greece, after the successful battle of Plataiai, for the shrine at Olympia, a colossal bronze statue of Zeus, to the erection of which a part of the Persian booty was appropriated.⁴⁰⁶ Of the Æginetan sculptor Callon, a scholar of Tectaios and Angelion, only two works are mentioned, — one a tripod with a figure of Core at Amyclai, and the other a wooden Athena for the Acropolis at Troizen.⁴⁰⁷ Were it not that Quintilian mentions him with Hegias, Pheidias' first teacher, as an exponent of a stiff and hard style, in contrast to Calamis, we should be entirely in the dark as to the work of this Æginetan master.⁴⁰⁸

Our knowledge of Onatas, a younger contemporary, whose works were greatly praised, is more satisfactory. Judging from the commissions he received, Onatas was a celebrated man by 465 B.C. He executed for far-off Syracuse a chariot and horses with charioteer, in honor of the Olympic victory of Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse; receiving the commission from Hieron's son, Deinomenes, soon after his father's death.⁴⁰⁹ Onatas' treatment of one subject is of interest as indicating that in him Æginetan art rebelled against the conventionalities of earlier times. The shrine of Demeter Melaina at Phigaleia, in Arcadia, was a holy place, whither Pausanias made a special pilgrimage, and brought offerings of fruit, honey-comb, wool, and oil. Its old wooden idol, as he was told, being destroyed by fire, Onatas was required to replace it. This old image represented the goddess seated on a rock, and having the form of a woman, with the head and mane of a *horse*. Out of this head sprang snakes and reptiles. A black garment covered the body to the toes: one hand held a dolphin and the other a dove, thus making up a repulsive and certainly primi-

tive form. Onatas did not reproduce this monster, but varied from the original, producing a statue in the spirit of his time. From the charge of too great license, he exonerated himself by saying that the divinity had appeared to him in a dream, and authorized him to alter the old form.⁴¹⁰ Of Onatas' bronze Apollo for Pergamon, we have only Pausanias' laudatory but very general expressions; and, of his Hermes for Olympia, we learn that the god carried a goat under the arm, and that Onatas' son and pupil, Calliteles, assisted in its execution.⁴¹¹ For the people of Thasos he executed in bronze a colossal Heracles carrying club and bow. This work, with its bronze pedestal, was seen by Pausanias in the Olympic shrine.⁴¹² Two large bronze groups by this master have a more direct interest for us, as showing many points of resemblance to the celebrated Æginetan marbles. The first of these consisted of an assemblage of ten bronze figures, representing the scene in the Iliad where the Greek heroes draw lots held by Nestor, to decide who should meet Hector in single combat. On one of the statues Pausanias read the name of Agamemnon, written in archaic style. In another he recognized Idomeneus, from the cock on his shield, and tells us that the Odysseus had been carried off by Nero. To the statue of Nestor was given a separate pedestal over against the rest.⁴¹³ The pedestal of this group of heroes, in the shape of a segment of a circle, was found at Olympia, about fifteen meters from the south-east corner of the Temple of Zeus; and opposite to it was a small, round pedestal of the same coarse, porous stone, on which Nestor must have stood.⁴¹⁴ Judging from the size of these remains, the heroes were nearly life-size. Pausanias tells us further, that they were not clad in full armor, but wore only helmet, shield, and lance, indicating that preference for nude forms which will be noticed in the Æginetan marbles. The grouping of these nine heroes on the narrow semicircular basis could, however, have been little more than a simple arrangement in a row, more simple even than that of the Ægina marbles. The other large bronze group by Onatas at Olympia, a thank-offering from the people of Tarentum for victory over the barbarian Peuketians, included horsemen and foot-soldiers. Here the hostile king Opis was represented as fallen; and on either side were Taras and Phalanthos, the heroic founders of Tarentum.⁴¹⁵ Owing to obscurity in the historical records, it is uncertain whether Onatas was assisted in this work by a sculptor Colynthos, or his son Calliteles. Such are our literary records of the sculptors of Ægina.

The Glyptothek, in Munich, contains no greater treasure than its marbles, discovered by a company of English and German scholars in Ægina in 1811. They were bought by Prince Ludwig of Bavaria for thirty thousand dollars, who had them restored by Thorwaldsen and Wagner.⁴¹⁶ These figures in Parian marble once adorned the pediments of Athena's temple, of which the crumbling columns, on the heights of Ægina, still overlook the blue waters of the Saronic Gulf. In both groups appeared a conflict about the body of a



Fig. 118. The West Pediment of the Temple of Athena on Aegina, according to Lange's Restoration.

hero fallen at the feet of the goddess Athena, standing in the middle of the pediment.

In number and arrangement, the figures in the two pediments corresponded exactly one with the other, as has been proved by Prachow and Lange from the fragments in Munich.⁴¹⁷ Besides, the two halves of each pediment in composition were exact repetitions of one another. On each side of the goddess was a bended hero, stretched over as if to snatch the dying man lying at her feet; and this correspondence in the figures continued away to the corners of the pediment, as will be seen from the plate which follows Lange's restoration (Fig. 118). The subject of these marbles is clearly from the Trojan combat, where Greeks, under the protection of Pallas Athena, were led on to battle by their greatest heroes, the Æginetan-born sons of Aiacos. The sculptors have failed to individualize the combatants; but it is, probably, a fallen Achilles about whom the battle rages in the west pediment, and, in the east pediment, perhaps Oicles. The fierceness of the contest about Achilles' body, as told in the *Æthiopis*, that ancient epic by Arctinos of Miletos (770 B.C.), gives us a conception of the importance laid upon the possession of the body and armor of the fallen. The poet tells us that Achilles, while struggling to gain an entrance at the Scaian gate, was smitten by Paris' fatal arrow. About his body, fabled to be as beautiful as that of his mother, Thetis, the sea-nymph, and as powerful as that of his mortal father, Peleus, there arose a stormy conflict. The Greeks were spurred on by their belief that the hero's soul would forever wander a restless shade were he deprived of burial, as would be the case if in the enemy's hands; and the Trojans by the prospect of bearing away from the battlefield the greatest champion of Hellas, and his armor the proudest trophy. All day long the battle lasted; mountains of slain warriors lay heaped up about the body; and no respite came until Zeus in a hurricane parted the contending foes. The intense desire to secure the armor of the

fallen, and, still more, for burial, continually appears in Greek literature,—a feeling which is still strong in Greece, where it is believed that the souls of the unburied ever wander as unhappy shades.⁴¹⁸

The marbles of these two pediments were long branded alike with the slur "archaic and Æginetan," until Brunn drew attention to decided differences in them, showing the one facing the west to be stiffer, and hence the older. To the sculptures of this west pediment, then, we naturally first turn. Here Athena, standing in the midst of the conflict, and arrayed in armor for the stern tasks of war, towers above the human warriors on each side, and, filling up the full height of the pediment, by her greater size symbolizes her divine superiority. In one hand the goddess holds her protecting shield extended over the fallen helpless hero at her feet, and in the other was doubtless originally her lance. On her shoulders, and hanging down her back, lies, like a broad cloak, the dread *ægis*, its shaggy rim, according to Homeric song, bordered with terror, and in its centre the Gorgon head, "deformed and dreadful," a sign of woe. The holes round about the outer edge of the *ægis* indicate that it was once fringed with serpents' heads made of separate pieces of marble, or perhaps bronze. The Gorgon head in the centre was doubtless also of metal, and traces of color on the rest of the *ægis* indicate that it was painted. The goddess wears the closely fitting Attic helmet with its high crest, now broken away. Over a fine under-garment, visible only under the arms, is carefully laid her generous outer mantle, falling below the *ægis* down to the feet in regular folds and ends. This drapery, although precise, is not monotonous, like imitated archaic works. The folds grow agreeably wider towards the bottom; and the zigzag end is enlivened by little depressions, producing pleasing variations of light and shade on the surface. But these attractions of the quaintly draped figure, of course, do not appear in the tiny cut, and must be sought for in the presence of the marble itself. Such of the hair as appears is carefully divided into masses, one falling over the brow, two others at the side, and one down the back, and is represented in stiffly parallel wave-lines. Traces of color, and the holes in her forehead, as well as a bronze curl left on the temple of another statue, show that many details were left to color and bronze. From her ears doubtless hung metal ear-rings, but of other jewellery there is no sign. How constrained and unnatural her position! Every indication of the female form is absent. The set lines of her garments appear in striking contrast to the figures of the nude, bending warriors about her, in which the details of the strained forms are admirably given. The sculptor, perhaps, had floating before his mind some time-honored Palladium clad in holy garments, such as we see painted on vases, and from whose traditional pose, with all his skill in the nude, he did not venture to break away. It may well be questioned, however, whether it would have been possible for these early artists to have represented naturally the form of the goddess beneath the heavy *ægis* and long, full drapery;

for that the Doric sculptors of the Peloponnesos devoted their energies mainly to the execution of nude statues is well known.

The warrior at Athena's feet, calling to mind the subject of Onatas' representation of king Opis for the Tarentines, falls with his head towards his friends, and should lie, as represented in the cut, directly in front of the goddess. Like most of his comrades, his armor consists of but a helmet and shield, reminding us of the nudity of Onatas' Homeric group at Olympia. Fragments indicate that nude warriors, one on each side of Athena, stretched forward in exactly the same position to catch the body or armor of the fallen man. In the corresponding figure preserved from the east pediment, we see with what boldness the artist must have balanced a heavy mass of marble, and given it all the energy and muscular action of this strained position. A hole in the arm nearest the pediment indicates that these statues alone, of the twelve or fourteen which occupied its shallow space, were fastened to the wall behind (*tympanum*). These bended warriors, eager to secure the fallen, were sustained on each side by two nude but helmeted combatants, standing in front, and fighting with shields and lances. Conjecture has given to the warrior at Athena's right the name of Ajax, according to Homeric song "the bulwark of the Greeks." The one on the left may be Æneas, his opponent, the leader of the Trojan hosts. Concerning what immediately accompanied these two standing warriors, there has been much controversy. Lange sees grounds for supplying, as their companions, two missing figures, standing one on each side, beyond, and somewhat in the rear; although his arguments are still considered insufficient by some.⁴¹⁹

The relative position of the following figures, a fully-armed kneeling archer, and a nude kneeling spearsman on each side, is doubtless incorrect as they now stand in the Glyptothek, in which the restorers have given the archers tall helmets. The arrangement suggested by Brunn would be far truer to the original, and is followed in Lange's restoration (Fig. 118). Here these helmets are replaced by lower ones, and the archers are made to kneel behind instead of in front of the spearsmen: thus the space is better filled, and the outlines of the composition made easier. The archer to Athena's left is differently armed from the corresponding figure on her right side, and wears a close jacket, with sleeves and trousers reaching the heels, and a leathern cap. This style of dress marks this archer as Asiatic; thus making it probable that his side of the pediment represents the Trojans, and the opposite the Greeks. This armor has, moreover, won for the figure that wears it, the name of Paris, who shot the fatal arrow at Achilles. At the extreme ends of the pediment, and sundered from the conflict, lie two warriors,—the Greek pulling an arrow from his wound, and the Trojan sinking in death. Both of these are thoroughly nude, and wear long hair, which forms a double row of faultless curls around their foreheads, and falls down their backs in a long mass. How iron

the symmetry observed in this pedimental group! The exact correspondence of the figures on each side will strike every observer, and call to mind the like symmetry in the pediment of the Megara Treasury at Olympia, described above on p. 211. But, in these Ægina marbles, a single figure occupies the centre of the pediment, instead of a divided group, as in the Megara pediment: besides, the combatants move more agreeably towards the centre, and do not rush away from it, as in those marbles where they seem in danger of striking their heads against the hard, sloping lines of the cornice. But, in spite of the decided improvements upon that earlier work, the composition of this Æginetan group is still too clearly artificial strongly to appeal to us. The prime excellence of its marbles lies, then, not in their composition, but in that pervading correctness in the well-developed muscles, and the excited movements of the bodies, rendered with understanding of the form. The artist does not attain complete naturalism, and doubtless did not strive for it: the great emphasis seems laid upon the bony framework and its muscular envelope. He gives the collar-bones their true proportions and direction, thus determining the height and breadth of the shoulders. He always emphasizes the breast-bone, and even the prominence at its base, only visible in nature when the body is erect. The true and false ribs are correctly given: the well-built upper part of the body connects with the lower by an easy and natural curve of the back, quite different from the rigid and exaggerated lines of earlier statues. The loins are still narrow compared with the shoulders, but in the greater shallowness of the triangle at the lower end of the pelvis there is a nearer approach to nature than in statues of the sixth century. The limbs are long in proportion to the trunk, and give the impression of a lack of massive strength. Upon this framework the sculptor has intelligently spread out the muscular system. The intercostals weave naturally in and out of the ribs, and the muscles of arms and legs appear in true proportions. The perpendicular and horizontal furrows of the abdomen are always visible; but the stiffly uniform space between the horizontal muscles compares unfavorably with the more natural divisions in archaic Attic forms, as will appear on comparing these Æginetan works with the group of Aristogeiton and Harmodios (traceable to an Attic original), where the two lower spaces are considerably wider than the one above. Moreover, the flatness of the stomachs in these Æginetan figures from the west pediment calls to mind the same characteristic in earlier statues. The heads are small, the eyes protruding and Chinese-shaped, the eyebrows at an ugly obtuse angle, the noses and upper lips short, the chins long and square, and the tightly closed mouths of every one of these warriors, whether fighting or dying, are drawn up as though smiling. The hair lies in locks resembling strings of *macaroni*, or in precise curls like rows of snail-shells. Age is distinguished from youth simply by the addition of a beard. Very few veins are rendered; and no intimation is given of the underlying layers of fat which in nature

conceal the sharp muscular outlines, and impart to the skin an easy and graceful flow. Throughout these forms only what is essential is represented. The casual appearances of nature, as well as the life bursting from within, is left unexpressed. The muscles seem to drive the machinery of the human frame, but fail to link the members so as to suggest lifelike motion. The warriors fight like recruits on the drilling-ground, not like trained veterans on the battle-field; and their arrows and lances we are sure can never fly to reach the enemy. But the stern system of sharply defined plastic forms offered us by the Ægine-tan sculptors can only be the result of thoughtful, painstaking study, and long-continued method. And so these men appear, not as experimenting each in vague and erratic individual endeavors, but as developing sure artistic principles to become one of the priceless heirlooms of Greek sculpture.



Fig. 119. *A Fallen Warrior from the East Pediment of the Temple of Athena on Ægina. Munich.*

Of the sculptures of the east pediment, at the opposite end of the temple, five figures only were tolerably preserved; but from these and other fragments we may see, that, with very minor deviations, the composition was the same as in the pediment already described. But the execution of the individual statues, which are on a larger scale, is far superior. Here, also, Athena was the central figure, clad in the same quaint and bound drapery; but over her extended left arm and hand was caught up the fear-inspiring *ægis*, as though to be used as a weapon. In her right hand a lance was brandished, and her whole movement was more aggressive than that of the quiet Athena of the eastern pediment. At her feet was, as in the eastern group, a fallen warrior, who, however, lay on his back, not sinking in death as there, but feebly defending himself from the enemy about his head. That he wore more armor than the corresponding fallen figure in the other group, appears from his greaves, which

are not seen on any figure of the west pediment. The enemy he fears, and who is bending over to catch his armor, should have been restored with a helmet already in his hand, as one of the existing fragments indicates.⁴²⁰ The fallen warrior (Fig. 119) of the corner also has a helmet and shield; while those of the other pediment were without armor, and thoroughly nude. But with what skill the armor was rendered may be seen from the figure of the kneeling archer, appearing in two views on Plate I. of the supplementary Selections from Ancient Sculpture. He wears a lion's skin, characterizing him as Heracles. So admirable is the composition of this statue, and so exquisite indeed is the finish, even of the back, that one is at a loss to determine which is the front side, and hence in which end of the pediment the figure kneeled. The presence of this vigorous, youthful Heracles in his helmet of lion's skin, and armed with his bow, has led to the conjecture that this group has reference to the conflicts of the Æginetan Telamon against the Trojan Laomedon, the Æginetans coming off victorious through Heracles' friendly aid. This beardless figure, we note, has not the bulky, massive form of the Heracles of later art, but a strong manliness marks the face. Every trace of the set conventional smile on the faces of the warriors of the other pediment has faded here, and a stern earnestness has taken its place. Small fragments of a corresponding kneeling archer, but in Asiatic garments, on the opposite side of the goddess, were also found.

How admirably the old sculptor could represent a man of years sinking in the last struggle, we see in this fallen warrior of the left corner (Fig. 119). His farther leg, now restored as drawn up, should, according to the fragments, have been more lax, thus lending a truer rhythm to the statue. His face faintly expresses suffering. The glands in the corners of the eyes, and the teeth seen through the half-opened lips, impart to the face the look of being well-nigh fixed in death, as the darkness described in Homeric lay "gathers over his eyes." This head, suggesting in its forms the pathos of death, was copied with strange inappropriateness for the erect form of a fighting warrior of the same pediment in Thorwaldsen's restoration.⁴²¹

This dying warrior shows how great the advance made in the eastern pediment on the earlier group at the opposite end of the temple; and, in fact, the comparison of the two is a most interesting illustration of development in the art-spirit, while holding on to a given type. Were it not for the old severity clinging to this head, especially about the beard, we might consider this wonderful statue, with its well-proportioned, rhythmical structure, softly flowing skin, and pulsating veins, to be the work of a master thoroughly freed from the trammels of earlier art. Throughout this later group the proportions between loins and shoulders have become correct, and indeed admirable, as may be seen in this fallen warrior. Even in minor details there is greater truth to nature: thus, while in the west pediment the middle toes are of equal

length, here they are made, as in life, unequal. The former leanness has yielded to a more natural roundness, the veins are, moreover, swollen, and casual folds in the skin are expressed, as we see in the noble forms of the fallen warrior and Heracles. The impossible lines of the hair, so like strings of *macaroni*, and rows of shells or beads, are superseded by freer ones; the beards are more easy; the finely executed ears do not appear as if fastened on from the outside, but as if growing with the head; the eyes are less Chinese-shaped; and the corners of the mouth have loosened, causing the stereotyped grimace to disappear from the strong faces of the warriors. In both groups, however, we admire the consummate skill with which the shields are chiselled in the hard Parian marble to a thinness of less than two inches, and balanced on the extended arms; and we are surprised at the successful poisoning of all the figures, which, with the exception of the bended, clutching warriors, were entirely free from artificial supports, so common in marble statues. These features, moreover, all suggest the peculiarities of bronze works. Throughout there is a sharpness which is foreign to the nature of marble, and reminds us strongly of the clean, sharp lines of metal casting. In connection with this bronze-like character of these marbles, it may be remembered, that it was for statues in bronze that Ægina was famed throughout the ancient world, and that by them, doubtless, the island sculptor in marble was influenced.

The thoroughly plastic conception of these figures, each being treated as a single statue, calls to mind also the single and well-developed frame of the athletes, the sculptor's favorite theme in Ægina. Because thus emphatically statuesque, these groups, although intended to adorn a temple, appear devoid of the united and picturesque effect justly required of decorative sculpture. Adjuncts of color and bronze were freely used in both pediments. The helmets, shields, and quivers were painted blue or red; the eyes, lips, and hair also show traces of color; while the nude seems to have been only slightly stained. The lances and bows in the hands, as well as the extra curls (see Paris), were doubtless all of bronze. This addition of color and bronze to the Parian marble must have given these ancient sculptures, as they stood complete in the pediments, a far different aspect from that they now present, — their color faded, the bronze accoutrements gone, and the whole restored by modern hands.

To complete our picture of these admirable temple sculptures, we must remember that at the summit of each pediment, on each side of the crowning palmette, and thus forming the *acroteria*, stood two small female figures. They were clad, after the manner of very many archaic draped figures, in long garments, which they held up with one hand (compare p. 194). Marble griffins, one of which has been restored, crowned the four corners of the pediments.⁴²²

As to the exact date of the Ægina temple and its sculptures, several

opinions are held. Curtius maintains that this temple is the very one erected by the Æginetans (520 B.C.) after their triumph over the Samian pirates, and upon which they hung up their trophies, the prows of the enemy's ships; and, in the belief of the early origin of these marbles, he is followed by Lange.⁴²³ But while the temple itself may date from before 500 B.C., the age of Ægina's greatest naval power, the sculptures may have been added later. They do not form a constituent part of the architecture; but each statue on its plinth is let into the base of the pediment separately, and could readily have been placed in the temple-front long after its construction. Moreover, the style of even the earliest group is so advanced, that it probably could not have been attained before 500 B.C., and is more like that to be expected about the close of the Persian war, 480 B.C. In that war, and especially at the battle of Salamis, the Æginetans won great laurels, and would naturally express public thanks by setting up in their temple pediments marble groups. The first group to be erected would have been the one facing the west, toward the interior of the island, seen by all approaching; while the second and more perfect one would, doubtless, have been completed after some years had elapsed. And yet, with all their differences, the general resemblance of the two groups is so great, that they seem the composition of one man, who could not, however, have superintended the final execution of both. It may be that Onatas, the father, had the composition of the whole, but being interrupted by death, or some other cause, left his work to be carried out by others, perhaps by his son Caliteles, whom we know, in one case, assisted his father.⁴²⁴ May not this younger man, although holding reverently to the composition and general plan of his father's work, have been fired by the spirit of the new time, and thus have produced works in style and spirit in advance of his father?

We have handed down to us in these marbles, whether in honor of victory over Samian pirates or Persian invaders, an expression of patriotism and religion; and it is of interest to note in what spirit the Greeks here sought to express their national exaltation. Not by portraits of victorious generals, or scenes from the war, did the Æginetans think most worthily to record their country's triumph. Gratitude to the propitious deity took a most prominent place in their artistic conceptions: the figure of the conquering Athena occupied the centre of the temple-brow, and Æginetan heroes of a remote and sacred past were her attendants. Twice could the Æginetans, according to Pindar, boast of having destroyed Troy, — once under Achilles' and Ajax' lead, and again under that of Telamon their king, assisted by Heracles. By depicting such heroic scenes, they idealized the glory of their present, and the halo of national poetry and faith was thrown around their recent victory. In the quaint aspect of these sculptures, we see that the artists were still too much absorbed in the difficult study of the human form to make it the mirror of its inner being, or give the faces an expression of interest or passion. But they

were moulding the form into a shape meet to receive the life to be breathed into it by a later art.

There has recently been acquired by the museum at Berlin a statuette in bronze, found at Dodona, which strikes every one on account of its strong resemblance to the Æginetan marbles.⁴²⁵ It represents in exquisite work, but stern archaic forms, a warrior in full armor, who stands on a curving base, and evidently formed a part of a group. The unusual shape of the base calls to mind Onatas' similar shaped pedestal, found at Olympia, and makes still more striking the resemblance of this rare little figure to the works of Æginetan masters.

In the so-called Strangford Apollo, an archaic figure in the British Museum, Brunn sees another illustration of the peculiarities of Æginetan works; the emphasis laid upon the muscular build, and the shape of the shoulders and abdomen, having led him to this conclusion.⁴²⁶

A much humbler monument than these temple-marbles of Ægina, but scarcely less interesting in its way, is a marble tombstone discovered in Ægina in 1866.⁴²⁷ It is a very low relief, of which the lower part alone is preserved. The relief is graceful in its quaintness, and contains so clearly the germs of what should be developed into free, full forms, that it deserves our admiration. Here we see a lady wrapped in very quaint, stiff garments, seated on a graceful chair, with her feet raised on a footstool. Like the stiff figures of the Laconian reliefs, she still holds in her left hand the symbolic pomegranate; but with the right she clasps the hand of a friend standing opposite, introducing us to that motive adopted in later sculptures in Attica, and developed in many scenes preserved to us of rare tenderness and touching import. In this quaint form we see the old sculptor's hesitation in departing from the traditional models, coupled with a charming endeavor to introduce truly human sentiment; and we see how painstaking, although unsuccessful, he is in representing the drapery that falls about the forms of these two friends forever united on one tombstone. All the principles of style are here observed which are the groundwork of excellence in low relief; and we feel that with a little more experimenting, a little more boldness, greater heights will be attained. But whether this marble sculpture is the work of Doric masters, and not of Ionians, or men from the neighboring Athens, we cannot say. It certainly seems more Ionian than Æginetan, and the treatment of the drapery is pleasanter than that of the Athena of the temple.

CHAPTER XV.

ADVANCED ARCHAIC SCULPTURE FROM ABOUT 500-450 B.C. (*continued*). — PELOPONNESOS, NORTH GREECE, SOUTHERN ITALY, AND SICILY.

Argive Masters. — Ageladas' Works. — Other Argive Masters and their Works. — Argos and Sikyon. — The Brothers Canachos and Aristocles. — Canachos' Apollo. — Corinthian Art. — Tegean Bronze Statuette. — The Vatican Girl-runner. — Olympian Sculptures. — Temple of Zeus. — Its Metopes. — Sculptures of East Pediment. — Their Style. — Sculptures of West Pediment. — Their Style. — Their Time. — The Sculptors of these Marbles. — Theories of Brunn. — Variety of Influences at Olympia. — The Place of these Sculptures in Art. — Sculptors in North Greece. — Monuments from Bœotia. — Remoter Provinces. — Art Illustrated from Coins. — Relief from Abdera. — Relief from Pharsalos. — Tombstones from Thessalonica. — View of Brunn. — Sculptures in Sicily and Southern Italy. — Pythagoras of Rhegion. — Improvements made by this Master. — Paucity of Remains from Southern Italy. — Bronze of Pæstum. — Verona Bronze. — Monuments from Selinus.

PASSING from Ægina to other Doric states in the Peloponnesos, we first pause at Argos, where, as already seen, during the sixth century the foreigners, Dipoinos and Skyllis, had worked, and a native school flourished. During the latter half of that century lived the still greater master, Ageladas, whose activity, it is generally agreed, lasted well-nigh sixty years, from about 520 to 464 B.C. (Olymp. 65-79).⁴²⁸ Nine works, all in bronze, are mentioned as coming from his workshop. Of his two statues of Zeus, we are told that one represented the child-god, and that the other, made for the Messenians, was later taken to Ithome. It is probable that this latter figure appears faintly represented on the coins of that place, one coin having been found with a part of the god's distinctive title. These two statues were kept in their own houses by priests elected for the purpose.⁴²⁹

Twice Heracles was his subject, one of these figures being likewise beardless and youthful: the other, with the epithet *Alexicacos* (warder-off of evil), was reconsecrated during the pestilence in Athens, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and was believed to have miraculously stayed the scourge.⁴³⁰ Of a muse by Ageladas, with a stringed instrument, we only know that it belonged to a trio; the two remaining statues being from the hand of his contemporaries and neighbors, Canachos and Aristocles, in Sikyon.⁴³¹ More characteristic for his school than these figures of gods and heroes were, probably, his two statues of Olympic victors, and the chariot of Cleosthenes, seen by Pausa-

nias in the sacred *altis*. One victor represented Anochos, a Tarentine, and the other Timasitheos.⁴³²

We learn that the names of each of the four horses of Cleosthenes' chariot were inscribed, and that the rich owner of the chariot was the first to be honored with a statue along with the charioteer. For the people of Tarentum, for whom Onatas also worked, Ageladas executed a group, seen in Delphi, celebrating a victory won over the Messapians, there appearing in this monument riders and captive women.⁴³³

This recital of Ageladas' works would mean little for us did we not know, that among the younger generation who sought his instruction were three men destined to become the great lights of Greek sculpture, — Polycleitos of Argos, Myron from Bœotia, and the Athenian Pheidias. What were the qualities which attracted them to the old Argive master? The correctness of Argive art and its skilful technique are well attested; and may we not conjecture that these excellences marked the school of Ageladas, although he himself could not have been a revolutionary genius?

A stately base of Parian marble was recently found at Olympia, the inscription of which tells us that the sculptures which it bore were dedicated by one Praxiteles, after a successful career in the cities of Sicily, and that they were executed by several sculptors, one of whom is called son of Agelaidas, no doubt the Ageladas of literature.⁴³⁴ Had these statues been preserved, we might have obtained from them some idea of the style of the great head of the Argive school, whose scholars were such men.

Another Argive master of this time is mentioned, who bore the name of Aristomedon. He must have lived before Xerxes invaded Greece, having executed figures in honor of victory in the Phokian war.⁴³⁵ This votive gift was set up in Delphi after the triumph over the Thessalians of the Phokians, under the leadership of the seer Tellias. It comprised the commander-in-chief Tellias, the other military leaders, and several Phokian heroes; but we know nothing of its style or arrangement. Two other Argive masters, Glaucos and Dionysios, probably somewhat younger than their more celebrated countryman, Ageladas, executed a very extensive monument of numerous figures in bronze, a votive offering to the Olympic gods for Smikythos, who was long guardian to the children of Anaxilas, Tyrant of Rhegion (died 476 B.C.). Smikythos made this extensive gift in fulfilment of a vow for the recovery of his consumptive son.⁴³⁶ Parts of its pedestal and fragmentary dedicatory inscription have been discovered at Olympia, but furnish no light as to the sculptures. The site of this discovery, however, below the level of the great temple to Zeus, aids in fixing the date of that building, which must have been after the erection of Smikythos' gift.⁴³⁷ The group was composed of a number of gods and goddesses, large and small, but was so injured by the removal of some of the figures to Rome by Nero, that Pausanias' description is incomplete. For Phor-

mis of Arcadia, who distinguished himself in the service of Gelon and Hieron of Syracuse, and gathered such great riches that he also could erect statues of thanks at Olympia, Dionysios executed a horse and groom, which accompanied others by Simon of Ægina; but, according to Pausanias, Dionysios' horse was smaller and less imposing than the others, although the most lifelike.⁴³⁸ From this scanty literary material we learn that the sculptors of Argos worked exclusively in bronze, executing mainly athletes, horses, and charioteers, and that their works were sought for, even by the people of far-off lands. But no such noble monument as the Æginetan marbles has been found in their land; and, with a sense of very fragmentary knowledge, we turn northward to Sikyon, the twin-sister of Argos, and not far removed from Corinth.

Here also, as we have seen, the foreign masters, Dipoinos and Skyllis, had worked; but the first names of native masters that meet us are of two brothers, Canachos and Aristocles. They were contemporaries of Callon of Ægina, and of Ageladas of Argos, as appears from their works, and from the fact that these men are mentioned together by the ancients. Their activity thus falls in the latter part of the sixth and earlier decades of the fifth century.⁴³⁹ Canachos, the more celebrated of the brothers, seems to have worked in gold, ivory, and wood, as well as bronze, and possibly in marble. Pliny tells us that the material which he used was the Æginetan bronze.⁴⁴⁰ His works, so far as known, consisted of boys on race-horses (*celetizontes pueri*), a muse grouped with two others by Ageladas and his brother Aristocles, two statues of Apollo, and an Aphrodite.⁴⁴¹ The latter, seen by Pausanias in Corinth, was of gold and ivory, and seated in the old style. The goddess was crowned with the *polos*, and bore in her hands her attributes,—poppy-blossoms and the apple. In Thebes was a wooden figure by this master, representing the Ismenian Apollo, in size and pose exactly like a colossal Apollo by him in far-off Ionia. This latter statue in bronze, and by far the most celebrated work by Canachos, was carried off from the very ancient shrine of the Branchidæ, near Miletos, by the Persians under Darius, but was returned by Seleucos Nicator at a much later date. Like most works in bronze, so tempting to the avarice of later generations, this colossus has disappeared; and only late coins from Miletos, bearing an image of the great temple-deity, furnish us with an idea of the pose of Canachos' Apollo.⁴⁴² According to these, the god stood erect, with arms advanced from the elbow, and holding in either hand a symbol,—a deer and a bow; thus following the type we have seen illustrated in the Naxos and Delos colossi, the small Naxos statue of the Berlin Museum (Fig. 90), and the ancient temple-image at Delos by Tectaios and Angelion. A small bronze in the British Museum represents the god with the deer in one hand, the attribute given him by Canachos; but the work is clearly that of a late imitator.⁴⁴³ The Roman works in marble, supposed imitations of Canachos, such as one in the Vatican, and another in Paris, are so dissimilar, and so full of the

copyist's arbitrariness, that they can furnish no idea of the master's style. From the testimony of Cicero, however, who calls his works severer than those of Calamis, we must believe he was a sculptor of the stern old type.⁴⁴⁴

Of his brother Aristocles we know little, except that he executed a muse, and was the head of a school purporting to have lasted through seven generations, the last member living about 280 B.C.,—a statement, however, which cannot fail to awaken questioning; since, as we know from monuments, art-forms and technique changed greatly with the centuries.⁴⁴⁵

In Corinth, the seat of a very ancient and flourishing trade in vases, three sculptors appeared shortly before the opening of the Persian wars. These men, Diyllos, Amyclaios, and Chionis, executed for the Phokians, in honor of their victory over the Thessalians, a group in which Heracles and Apollo appeared, each laying hold of the tripod, and preparing to fight for it; while Athena and Artemis tried to dissuade them from the contest.⁴⁴⁶ This subject is represented on archaistic reliefs, but whether it can be traced back to this Corinthian group is exceedingly doubtful.⁴⁴⁷



Fig. 120. Priestess with Key, found at Tegea. Athens.

A marble relief once owned by Lord Guilford, and discovered near Corinth, but which has now disappeared, had, if we may judge from the drawings, so many archaistic or pseudo archaic features that we need not here dwell upon it. Troizen and Phlius, in the Peloponnesos, furnish only a single name each: these are Hermon and Laphaës.⁴⁴⁸

Few are the monuments discovered in the Peloponnesos which might bring before us the character of the art of its different provinces during this time. A small bronze figure (Fig. 120), discovered at Tegea in 1861, may, perhaps, give us an idea of the mathematical mode of representing form and drapery in the earlier half of the fifth century.⁴⁴⁹ This statuette, owned by the archæological society of Athens, shows an ancient lady standing erect, and clad in a *chiton* almost painfully plain. At her waist it is caught up, and it is buttoned on her shoulder; while a flap, or *diplois*, falls down in front, covering the girdle, and ending evenly on each side. Shoes cover her feet: her hair is gathered by a band, and then falls down her back in a loose mass. In the advanced hand she held an object, perhaps a shallow saucer (*patra*); and with the other she doubtless clasped a temple-key. This would mark her as a priestess (*kleiduchos*), as may be inferred from the resemblance of the statuette to another of freer style found on the same spot, and still holding the temple-key in the hand. This Tegea statuette, found on what seems to be the site of an ancient temple, was probably an independent votive figure brought by some pious priestess, and calls to mind the fact, that even such great masters as Pheidias and Euphranor are said to

have treated the same subject (*kleiduchoi*). The importance of this little, well-executed bronze lies in the confirmation it brings to Brunn's theory, that the striving to reduce every thing to rule characterized the sculptors of the Peloponnesos. In the original, this face with its strong chin has that remarkable long oval, of which the front leaves the impression of a plane at a decided angle to the sides. The hair is treated in masses; and this tendency to subordinate individual parts runs through the whole figure, in which simplicity and severity in the lines of body and drapery, combined with a clearness of rendering, and economy of detail, go to make up what seems to indicate an architectonic principle. This little figure also throws light on quite a number of statues whose type it has hitherto been impossible to trace to its Greek home with certainty. Such is the so-called Hestia Giustiniani, now in the Torlonia Museum in Rome; and such the three bronze dancers from Herculaneum, which seem to be a late variation on a genuine old type.⁴⁵⁰ How severely simple the representation of the drapery in this little bronze from Tegea, and how different from the elaborate robes of the figures found in Ionia! It is, doubtless, the simple Doric garment, afterwards adopted as well by the Ionians of Attica, but in the art of that beauty-loving, graceful people, made to reflect nobly the form beneath, and frequently combined with a rich veil to give luxury and ease of line such as we miss in this sterner little monument found in the Peloponnesos. There is in the Vatican a female figure with restored arms, which has so many of the traits observed here, that, although we cannot positively affirm that it goes back to a Peloponnesian original of this age, it may be mentioned with them. It is a figure of one of those girl-racers who, among the Doric peoples, were wont to join in athletic games, and at Olympia to run in honor of Hera in the *stadion*. Pausanias tells us that the sixteen maidens who joined in the race had their hair flowing, the right shoulder uncovered, and a short *chiton* reaching a little below the knees.⁴⁵¹ In the graceful statue of the Vatican we see the maiden represented in such a costume. Her long and narrow face, with strongly built chin, and her whole frame lacking all rich fulness, is beautifully severe and correct in its build, and seems to point to an original of this age when art was just ready to bud into richer beauty. From the sharp cut of the eyelids, and distinctness of all the lines, as well as the firm composition of the figure, intended evidently to stand without a support, we may conclude that the original of this figure was of bronze, here translated into marble by some later artist, who, in general, adhered to his quaintly beautiful pattern, but found it necessary to add the support required by the marble copy.

OLYMPIA.

Among the most important marbles for the history of early Greek sculpture are those brought to light at Olympia, in the retired valley of the Alpheios in Elis, according to the ancient traveller "so pleasant to look upon." On the

banks of the sacred Alpheios and smaller Cladeos, in 1829, partial excavations were made by the French, to be most thoroughly completed by the Germans between 1875 and 1881, roused to this effort by the eloquence of the eminent historian Ernst Curtius, who has continued to be the soul of the operations.

Here in antiquity no bustling cities were to be seen, but all around the eye met rich fields and gardens; while in their midst rose the walls of the sacred precincts, or *altis*, enclosing an area measured off, it was said, by Heracles, in remote mythic ages, and filled by later generations with monuments expressive of devotion to the gods and heroes there worshipped. Here Zeus, the highest god of all Hellas, was pre-eminent; and in the centre of the *altis* stood his colossal altar. On it offerings were daily burned with white poplar, the ashes being left to accumulate century after century; and, as Pausanias credulously adds, birds of prey were miraculously kept from infesting the spot. An oblong base 6.50 meters long, covered with a thick layer of ashes intermingled with many votive statuettes of bronze and clay, discovered to the north of the great temple, testifies at once to the truth of this description, and the devotion of the Greeks from very ancient times.

When Greece by heroic efforts had arrested and turned back the Persian hosts, an elevating feeling of glorious triumph and thankfulness seems to have pervaded the land; and, in the years immediately following the battle of Plataiai, many votive offerings of great size and costliness were put up by Greeks, from near and far, in this great national shrine, to Zeus. The Tyrants, and the rich dwellers in Sicily and Southern Italy, now made regal gifts at this shrine. Phormis, the Arcadian, collected such riches in services in the wars of Hieron, that he was able to put up costly gifts, not only at Delphi, but also at Olympia.⁴⁵² Besides the horses and grooms alluded to above (p. 251), there were other groups, dedicated by a friend of Phormis, in which that soldier appeared fighting with an enemy. It is very probable, as Furtwängler surmises, that fragments of one of these groups are among the marbles discovered at Olympia. They consist of two admirably executed heads in Parian marble, parts of arms, one foot, and a piece of a shield.⁴⁵³ The fragments of arms and feet remind us strongly, in style and technique, of some statues of the east pediment from Ægina: instance the fallen warrior (Fig. 119). From tradition we know that Æginetan masters worked for Phormis; and it is possible, that in these fine fragments found at Olympia their skill may be traced. The fragment of the shield, which was doubtless carried by the old warrior, has upon it, in very low relief, the figure of a lad on a shaggy skin, and presents pleasingly flowing lines, although still constrained. In one of the preserved heads (Fig. 121) the artist has evidently struggled to represent the portrait of an old warrior. Although this helmeted head, and the second, very like it, are sadly injured, enough remains to see portraiture here combined with a most naive rendering of hair and beard. The curls of marble were each put on separately,

like the bronze curls found on the Æginetan statues: around the eyelids seem to have been metal eyelashes; and in their sockets were eyeballs, perhaps of precious stone. But all these details, so strange for marble, we forget in gazing at the face, from which kindness beams, as from the small head from Meligè (p. 208), but here far better expressed. These precious fragments show us that the artists of the time had gained a certain assurance and vigor of expression in portraiture which is truly delightful in contrast to the tentative ideal works of older times, such as the colossal Hera head described above on p. 210.

While foreigners were enriching Olympia with single works, the people of Elis itself did not remain behind, but now erected, as it seems, on the site of an older, humbler shrine, a glorious temple to Zeus, more in keeping with the exalted spirit of the day. The means for its erection were furnished by the booty taken in a successful war, fought in Olymp. 77, against the rebellious people of Pisatis in Elis.⁴⁵⁴ The temple was begun, according to inferences drawn from the recent excavations, soon after this (472-468 B.C.; see p. 250).⁴⁵⁵ After the battle at Tanagra, which took place about fifteen years later, 457 B.C. (Olymp. 80. 4), the Lakedaimonians, according to Pausanias, affixed to the temple summit a record of their victory on a shield; this shows that the structure

had by that time received its roof.⁴⁵⁶ A large part of this very inscribed shield is one of the latest discoveries, and is an incontrovertible witness to the early completion of the temple, being in form such that it must have been affixed to the roof when finished.⁴⁵⁷ It is probable, that for the eightieth return of the Olympic festival, the summer of 460 B.C., the sacred structure stood complete, — a grateful sight for the pilgrims wandering thither from all parts of Greece. As recent researches made by Loeschke have shown, its great temple-statue by Pheidias was probably begun, not very long after, and consecrated in the summer of the eighty-third Olympic festival.⁴⁵⁸

This temple was a building of the sterner Doric style, built by a native architect, Libon by name. Its foundations, *cella*-walls, and columns were of shell conglomerate, a coarse native stone, which received a coating of fine, painted stucco on the exposed parts. But the building received also sculp-



Fig. 121. Portrait Head discovered at Olympia, perhaps of Phormis the Arcadian. Olympia.

tural decoration, in which the myths of the sacred spot were immortalized. The stone of the country being too coarse for such higher artistic work, Parian and Pentelic marble were brought from afar for this purpose. Along the *sima*, or gutter-facings, the water from the sloping roof was spewed out from numerous lions' heads in marble, whose remnants show most varied artistic excellence.⁴⁵⁹ Some of them appear to be original works, executed when the temple was erected; others, reparations made at a later time, have a freer style; and still others are evidently of a very late date, being absolutely barbarous.

But of far more importance than these so purely architectural decorations, are the sculptures of the metopes and pediments, fully described by Pausanias, although, as excavations prove, somewhat incorrectly. The sculptured metopes did not, as in the Athenian temples, occupy the frieze over the outer row of columns surrounding the building, but stood over the inner row of columns (compare Fig. 113), and enlivened the entablature of the *pronaos* (front portico) and *opisthodomos* (rear portico), there having been six at each end. On them were glorified the labors of Heracles, — one of the greatest Olympic heroes, the mythic founder of the games, and layer-out of the *altis*. Happily their preservation, owing to their protected position, as well as the skill in combination of the director of the excavations, Treu, have rescued to us at least their general scheme, and given us their place in the building.⁴⁶⁰ The majority of the fragments are still in Olympia, and the remainder are in the Louvre; but at Berlin may be seen casts of the whole, combined according to their original groupings.

On the *opisthodomos*, or west end, the first, or northern metope was connected with Heracles' first great act of heroism, the slaying the Nemean lion. When Argos was ravaged by this beast, the young hero, according to story, long followed the king of beasts with arrows and club, but to no purpose, until finally he defied the monster in his den, and strangled him in his powerful arms. The metope does not show us the hero in the midst of this struggle. The lion lies dead; and the hero, with one foot planted on the prostrate foe, rests his elbow on his knee, and his face pensively on his hand, as if brooding over his first great labor, and forecasting what he had promised still to carry out. A fragment of the figure of Athena has been found, assuring us that divine help was at hand. Her figure must have well filled up the space left vacant beyond the hero and fallen victim. We should not fail to notice the color on these metopes, which must have blended with that of the architecture, where columns and walls were found to have a reddish hue. Triglyphs were painted blue, and all the unadorned horizontal bands seem to have been red. On the metopes the color varies. In the one just described, the hero's hair, lips, and even eyeballs, were found to be red; but too little color is left to tell what manner of harmony was attained by this polychromy, which evidently

reflects the traditional use of incrustation with terra-cotta, metal, or stucco, painted and gilded. The second metope represents the hero, and the hydra fabled to have haunted the swamps of Lernai; but how Heracles here destroys that monster whose nine heads were said, when cut off, ever to grow afresh, we cannot distinguish in the fragmentary marbles. In their present condition, however, we still see numerous long, snaky coils growing up out of a crocodile-tail, and spreading over much of the surface, thus making the relief a most repulsive one. Here the background was found covered with red color. In the third metope appears commemorated Heracles' triumph over the terrible birds of Stymphalos (Fig. 122). These fabulous Arcadian monsters, said to have had claws, beaks, and wings of cruel metal, from which they shot off feathers as arrows, were satisfied alone with human victims to appease their hunger. Athena gave Heracles a rattle to frighten them from their nest, and unerring arrows for their destruction. The old sculptor in the third metope shows us Heracles offering his prey to Athena. The form of the goddess discovered by the French was long thought to represent a nymph. Her attributes of helmet, and *ægis* on her breast, however, clearly mark this as the warrior-goddess, who, seated on a rock, looks at some object now gone, doubtless the long-desired bird which the hero must quietly have held in his hand. In the fourth metope Heracles is in the midst of his struggle with a wild bull sent by Poseidon to waste the land of the Cretans in retribution for a great sin. It fell to the lot of the hero to catch and bind the beast alive. In the sculptured scene, Heracles by main force seems to be holding back the enraged brute. The background of this metope was found painted blue, unlike some of the others, which were red, thus showing a lack of uniformity in the application of color. The brute himself was found to have a brownish-red skin. The fifth metope concerned the overtaking and controlling of the stag with brazen hoofs, fabled to have done great damage in the Achaian mountain Keryneia. For a whole year Heracles gave chase to this stag, following it away to the fountain-heads of the Danube, where he found the wild olive, and transplanted it to Olympia. Very little of this metope is left, but enough to show that the hero had overtaken the stag, and, while kneeling on its back with one knee, was probably struggling with the horns, as very frequently represented in much later sculptures. Heracles' adventure with the Amazon queen, Hippolyte, is



Fig. 122. Metope from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Heracles bringing a Stymphallian Bird to Athena.

probably the subject of the last metope of the west side; but, unfortunately, only the head of the queen has been found, with a part of the hero's hand. When Admete, the daughter of Eurystheus, wished for the girdle given this Amazon queen by Ares, Heracles was obliged to go to obtain it. According to story, after Hippolyte had consented to give it up, Hera, who wished ill to the hero, turned herself into an Amazon, and excited Hippolyte to such an extent, that Heracles, hearing the clamor, suspected treachery. Seizing the queen by the hair, he then killed her, and, taking her girdle, fled.

At the opposite end of the temple we follow the hero still farther. In the first scene, the seventh metope, he is engaged with the Erymanthian boar, which his step-brother, King Eurystheus, required him to catch alive. Enough remains to show that the hero had secured his prey, and was returning with it. The scene is treated with great humor. In one corner appears Eurystheus, who has been driven by cowardice to take refuge in one of those large earthen pots sunk in the ground, and used in antiquity as receptacles for grain or water. But the full force of the scene in this fragmentary metope is best obtained from a picture found at Pompeii, preserved well-nigh complete, in which the frightened king, with royal band about his hair, stretches his head out from his place of refuge and beckons to Heracles to depart with the dreadful beast. The eighth metope, also sadly injured, shows us Heracles with one of the horses of Diomedes, king of Thrace, which were wont, as the story was, to feed upon the flesh of innocent travellers. In the ninth metope Heracles has to do with the triple-bodied giant Geryones, the owner of vast herds of cattle on the island Gades, after which Eurystheus lusted. In this metope the hero brings down his tremendous blows upon two of the bodies of the monster sunken upon their knees, the third being probably already despatched. Happily, the tenth metope ⁴⁶¹ is admirably preserved; showing us the capabilities of the sculptors of these marbles, and illustrating their *naïve* recital of the myths (Fig. 123). It represents that scene from the life of Heracles where he came to the garden of the Hesperides to seek the golden apples from the magical tree in its centre for his cruel task-master, King Eurystheus. On his arrival he found King Atlas, who alone could procure the apples, groaning under the load of the world. Heracles besought him to pluck the fruit of which he was in search. At first Atlas refused, on the ground that he could not let fall his burden. Heracles thereupon relieved him while he went in search of the golden fruit. Here Greek mythology weaves in a pleasantry. Atlas proposed to carry the apples in person to Mykene, while Heracles continued to bear the world. To this proposition the hero gave his consent, adding only that he must provide himself with a cushion for his shoulders. The slow-witted Atlas then took the load again, but found too late that Heracles had now concluded to let him remain the unhappy bearer of the world. The metope from Olympia representing this scene, and on the same

scale as the remaining metopes, though larger in the engraving, shows us that fictitious simultaneousness which occurs continually in ancient paintings and sculpture, crowding successive events all into one picture. Thus King Atlas, with royal band in hair, has just returned with both hands full of apples; but

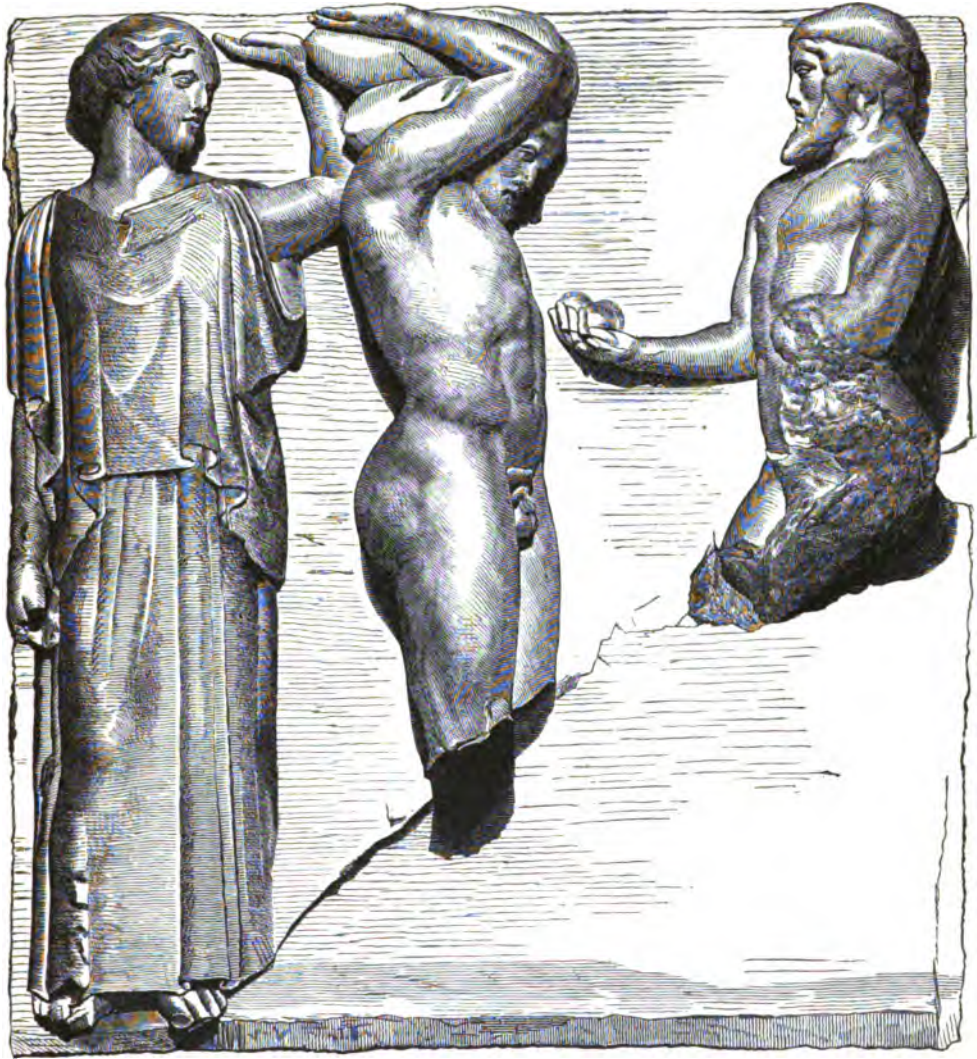


Fig. 123. Metope from Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Heracles, Atlas, and Hesperid.

Heracles already has the cushion on his shoulder, the world borne by it being left to the imagination. The apples of the second hand are not represented in the cut, since the engraving was made before they were found. Another of the details of the mythic story crowded into this relief is a kind-hearted nymph, one of the guardians of the tree, who stands by, and extends her hand to give the hero friendly aid. The vigorous forms of Heracles and Atlas are

here admirably brought out, and there is great faithfulness in executing the minor details. The decidedly archaic character of the relief, especially seen in the heads, will strike every observer. The details of hair and beard are not carved out, but left to color; and the curves of the eyelids are still monotonous. But, by running the fingers over these strong but subtle muscles of the body, we become pleasantly aware by touch, as cannot be done by sight alone, that there is here no laxity or uncertainty, but everywhere perspicuity, firmness, and assurance in the severe but thoroughly plastic shapes, even though still exaggerated in parts with the naïve emphasis given by archaic art to the most prominent members. But how primitive the drapery of this Hesperid, and how far behind the rendering of the nude! The simplicity of cut is quite unlike the pattern of garments found in statues among the Ionians, as those of Miletos, Samos, Delos, and even Athens. In the perpendicular folds which fall over her thigh, in the horizontal lines of the edge running across the body, and in the serpentine border dropping towards the hip, there is, however, a peculiar attraction, far indeed from that of entire naturalness, and dependent rather upon stern conformity to carefully weighed artistic principles, it might be said upon "the beauty alone of certain linear combinations."⁴⁶² There is throughout the forms of this metope a nobility holding itself aloof from all that is trivial or undignified, showing the work of a master well trained in artistic traditions, whose sculptures do not appeal to feeling or sentiment, but most emphatically to our judgment, and sense of sculptural form.

The eleventh metope has a female figure, in her severe but agreeable lines, sister, as it were, to this nymph. It is Athena who here stands by with her aid while Heracles cleans the stables of Augeias (Fig. 124). According to myth, these were so extensive and so foul that Heracles turned a river into them; but here he appears actually at work hoeing out the dirt, in an attitude which shows great exertion. Athena, while standing with full front to the beholder, looks toward Heracles; her left hand, perhaps, once holding a lance, and her right resting on a shield. Her helmet had attachments of bronze, now gone; and Heracles' hair and beard were clearly painted. The twelfth and last metope seems to represent the chaining of Kerberos, the watch-dog at the portals of Hades. Here the triple-headed monster of myth appears as a very agreeably shaped dog, whom the hero is dragging out of his cave. Above the dog, and completing the scene, must have been another figure; for the space in all these metopes was well filled: probably it was Athena, the hero's protecting goddess; or Hermes, the leader of souls to and from Hades, the scene of Heracles' adventure with Kerberos.

To arrive at the date of these vigorous but still constrained sculptures, their place in the architecture must be considered. This shows us that the metopes must have been executed during the building of the temple. Their intimate connection with the triglyphs, both on the side and the top, shows

that they could not have been shoved in after the building was completed, but must have been fitted in as rude blocks into their places, and carved afterwards, during the process of building; i.e., between 470 and 460 B.C. It is equally clear, that these sculptural metopes could not have been carved in place after the building had been roofed. In their dark and confined space directly under the roof, they would thus have been inaccessible to the artist for the production of such carefully finished work. Hence, as the building was covered by about 460 B.C., we have a clew to the earlier date of its metopes.

But let us now turn to the sculptures of the pediments, and consider first those from the east end, usually the front of the sacred building. Here, according to Pausanias, were represented the preparations for the mythic chariot-race between Oinomaos, king of Pisa, and the Lydian Pelops.⁴⁶³ According to story, Oinomaos had a daughter of great beauty, Hippodameia, whose hand was sought by many. But being unwilling to give her up, having been informed by the oracle, according to one story, that he himself should fall at the hand of his son-in-law, the king determined to prevent her marriage. He consequently instituted a chariot-race, making it a condition that each suitor should run with him, and, if unsuccessful, forfeit his life. Thirteen times Oinomaos' winged steeds carried off the prize; and thirteen unhappy lovers, one after the other, were pierced by his merciless lance as he sped by them, their skulls to become decorations in the temple of his father, Ares. When, however, Pelops came, the gods, according to Pindar, favored his suit. Poseidon furnished him with winged steeds, fleetier than those of Oinomaos; and Aphrodite roused the maiden's ardent love for the beautiful Lydian youth. In popular myth, Myrtilos, son of Hermes, was also woven into the story. He likewise loved the maiden, but feared the fate of the unhappy suitors. In order to be near her, he hired himself out as charioteer to Oinomaos; his jealousy of the princely lovers having not a little to do with their failure in the race. But, when Pelops arrived, Myrtilos changed his tactics, in hopes of nearer approach to Hippodameia, and now plotted, even against his master. He removed the pivot from one of the king's chariot-wheels, or, according to another story, inserted one of wax. In consequence the race was lost to the old king, now the victim of Pelops' lance, who thus won the bride and the land. Pausanias describes the sculptural group at Olympia, relating to this myth in the east pediment of the



Fig. 124. Metope from Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Heracles cleaning Augeias' Stables.

temple, as follows : "In the middle of the pediment is the figure of Zeus : on his right stands Oinomaos, with a helmet on his head, and beside him his wife, Sterope, one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilos, who guided the chariot of Oinomaos, sits before the horses, of which there are four. After him are two men, who have no names, charged by Oinomaos with the care of the horses. At the end lies a figure stretched out, which represents the Cladeos, that river, next to the Alpheios, most honored by the people of Elis. On the left of Zeus are Pelops and Hippodameia, besides Pelops' charioteer, his horses, and two men, doubtless his grooms. Where the pediment becomes narrow is a statue representing the Alpheios."^{463a}

Happily, parts of all these statues have been found, and in such condition that it has been possible for the sculptor Grüttner of Berlin to complete the failing members, making a most pleasing restoration in small casts (Fig. 126).⁴⁶⁴ Five standing expectant figures occupy the centre. In the very middle towers Zeus, who doubtless held in one hand his sceptre, but with the other, strangely enough, fingers his mantle, — a very favorite mode of representing the hands with the sculptors of these marbles. Of the Zeus, the head, right leg, and part of left arm and drapery, are lacking ; but his tremendous chest, and the drapery about his limbs, are well preserved. Thus we see the king of gods is here conceived as appearing in person at this momentous scene ; but, judging from the attitude of those on both sides of him, they are conceived as unaware of his presence. Two helmeted warriors, whose heads, torsos, and parts of arms, are preserved, stood on each side of Zeus. The bearded, and consequently the older, man, doubtless the father, Oinomaos, stood at Zeus' left, and not, as Pausanias says, at his right. His pose seems to be one of proud self-confidence, with one hand placed with assurance on his hips ; while his wife and companion, Sterope, happily quite well preserved, seems absorbed in thought concerning the dreaded race, which shall decide the fate of her husband and daughter. One arm is laid across her breast, and with the other hand she fingers the drapery about her neck.

Corresponding to this couple is one on the opposite side of Zeus, where the old sculptor, with his love of summing up the whole story in a single scene, has already placed the much-sought-for bride, Hippodameia, by the side of her suitor, Pelops. Her gesture of holding her veil beyond her head is probably one implying the approaching nuptials, and becomes a very favorite one in later art. Her whole form, clad in a plain *chiton* like that of the Tegea priestess, is, however, apparently no younger than that of her mother ; nor is there great difference in their faces. This central row of figures, all of which are unfinished at the back, stand well-nigh in full front view. Their varied pose of hands, turn of head, and bend of knee, make a far more agreeable impression, as the group is now restored in diminutive size, than it seemed possible to expect of the five monotonously regular figures as they appeared in the frag-

ments. It will doubtless appear, when they are restored in the full size of the originals, that the same severe harmony, varied by slightest changes, will be preserved. The simple, unostentatious way in which this story is told, shows us that the sculptors did not here seek complicated and intricate combinations: and yet, in this stately central row, the old archaic forms are struggling up to greater freedom; and there is clearly an advance upon the prim, stiffly isolated Athena of the Ægina pediments, who looks out alone upon us from the throng of struggling warriors.

Much discussion has arisen concerning the placing of the figures immediately following on each side of this central group, affecting also the figures in the corners. Curtius, whose arrangement is followed in the plate, is guided by the fact, that directly below the corner of the pediment, to the left of Zeus, were found together the three figures in the position in which, as he believes, they must have fallen. Treu considers this fact of the discovery outweighed by certain technical signs in some of the statues, and places them otherwise, with a more strict correspondence of one part to the other in the pose of the individual figures.⁴⁶⁵

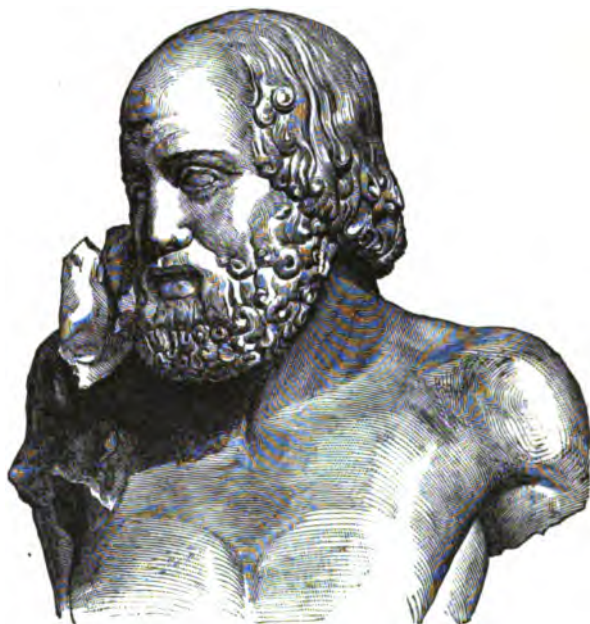


Fig. 126. Detail from East Pediment at Olympia. The Head of the Troubled Seer.

On the same side of Zeus, with Oinomaos, in front of the horses, sits the charioteer, Myrtilos, and, on the other side, the charioteer of Pelops. These forms fill up the vacant space below the horses' heads; but their place and pose are very strange, and it is difficult to imagine how they thus held the steeds in the strained pose which the old sculptor has found necessary to give them. Four horses appear on each side; but, in the laconic style of ancient art, the chariots are omitted. The pose of these expectant animals is very quiet, and almost exactly alike: their long, stiff tails in the marble may awaken a smile. But their forms are marked by a pleasing vigor, in which is much realism.

Behind the horses, on each side, sits an elderly man. The one on Oinomaos' side has a furrowed brow, and pensive, foreboding look, and rests his face on his hand; a part of the figure being represented in Fig. 125. He has some-

thing so portrait-like, that he may suggest the Garibaldi type. The other, on Pelops' side, raises himself as if in pleasant excitement, but is, unfortunately, sadly injured. Are these two bearded figures, so different in expression, only hostlers, as Pausanias says? or are they the seers, who, according to poetry and legend, looked into the future, and saw its course, but were unable to change it? On old vases where going to battle is pictured, and especially in the portentous preparation for Amphiaraos' departure, such a seer sits on the ground, with head in his hand, in attitude of sorrow.⁴⁶⁶ So here the brooding old man on Oinomaos' side doubtless is meant to foresee with anxiety the doom of his master, but the one on Pelops' side the victory of his party. On the lips of the brooding old seer the magnifying-glass detected traces of red color; and there can be no doubt, that, throughout these pedimental figures, very many details, as we have seen was the case with the metopes, were carried out in color, the fading of which, as in the case of Heracles, has left a look of baldness.

Behind the pensive seer we see a crouching lad, apparently in conversation with the stretched-out form of the river-god Cladeos in the corner of the pediment. This god is represented as bearded but youthful, because the river which he personified was the smaller of the two at Olympia. Who this boy with hand resting on his foot may be, we know not. Perhaps he is a young groom, but more probably a local river-god imagined as conversing with Cladeos concerning the coming scene, and thus locating it more definitely. In both these figures old conventionalism seems to have yielded to a direct study of nature, perhaps of the model, evident in Cladeos' muscular chest, broad shoulders, and somewhat ordinary pose. In the drapery, also, the conventional lines are gone; and sometimes the folds have even an arranged look: thus, in the river-god's drapery, a fold on his back is laid as though intentionally to break a monotonous line. But the artistic thought stops here: this striving to imitate nature is not coupled with any abstraction from it which would make the folds fall in lines of beauty while following their inherent laws. The same realism struggling to approach nature, and still far from idealized form, appears in the boy handling his foot. Corresponding to this lad, at the opposite end is a female figure, entirely unnoticed by Pausanias, — probably a local nymph, who, bent over, seems in conversation with the bearded Alpheios reclining in the corner of the pediment, and supporting his head on his hand. His form, no less than the Cladeos, shows the study of nature, but as yet full of the slag of crude materialism, and far from the idealized forms of later works, such as the river-gods of the Parthenon.

Everywhere throughout this pedimental sculpture the drapery is far inferior to the nude; while in the forms of the gods and mythic heroes the nude is less fleshly than in those of seers, hostlers, and river-gods. The drapery of the Hippodameia is very like that of the Athena in the eleventh metope (Fig. 124),



Fig. 126. The East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, by Pausanias. Restoration by Grüttner.

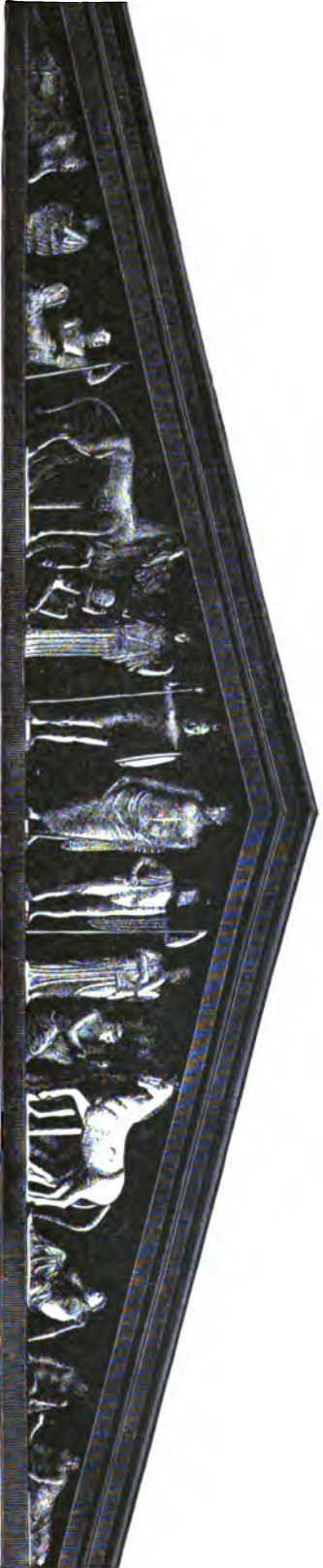


Fig. 127. The West Pediment of the Temple at Olympia, by Alcamenes. Restoration by Grüttner.

while that of Sterope seems treated with somewhat greater freedom. When the drapery sweeps around the form, however, as in the kneeling maiden, the sculptor seems unable to make it look like any thing more than coils of leather, and evidently leaves much to be expressed by color. Altogether, in the composition as well as execution of this group, there seems an experimenting and a striving, which has not yet overcome serious difficulties. The backs of the figures are left in the rough, the whole giving very strongly the impression of high relief. They would show to much better advantage were they carved out fully in the round, and thus made to cast deeper, stronger shadows to enliven the recess of the pediment, eighty centimeters deep.

In the opposite, or west pediment (Fig. 127), the scene is as excited as the one just described is quiet. The fragments preserved are in such good condition, that there can be no doubt that Grüttner's restoration in small casts is correct.⁴⁶⁷ Here is represented one of the most popular of Greek myths, and one which gave the sculptor a chance to display far greater action. It is the battle between Lapithæ and centaurs. According to story, both Lapithes and Kentauros, the ancestors of these contending peoples, were sons of Apollo; but the warlike spirit and courage of the semi-human centaurs soon degenerated into brutality, and insubordination to law, finding vent in a quarrel about their inheritance. This difficulty being settled, the centaurs stirred up another family-broil at the wedding of their cousin Peirithoös with Deidameia, daughter of the Lapith Atrax. The centaurs, on smelling the wine at the feast, refused the milk set before them, and, seizing the wine, became by it so excited that they laid violent hands upon the bride, her maidens, and the youths, to carry them off. A fearful struggle ensued, in which the Lapithæ, representatives of law and order, with the aid of the divine Theseus, conquered their enemy. This contest, thus significant to the Greeks of the victory of order and right, was very frequently represented in art. Of the sculptures in the west pediment at Olympia, Pausanias tells us less than of the figures in the east pediment; but, happily, enough is preserved of the fragments to leave no doubt as to the grouping.⁴⁶⁸ Of it Pausanias says, "In the middle of the pediment stands Peirithoös, on one side Eurytion, who holds the wife of Peirithoös; on the other, Theseus, who, with a club, keeps off a centaur. One centaur has stolen a maiden and a beautiful boy." Pausanias closes his statement with the conjecture that Alcamenes chose this scene because he had learned from the Homeric songs that Peirithoös was a son of Zeus, and because he knew that Theseus was descended in the fourth generation from Pelops. But Pausanias must have been misinformed in many details, as they do not tally with the marbles; while some figures he has omitted altogether.

In the centre there towers a manly youth, having but little drapery over his form: he stands quietly erect, with right hand outstretched, and beardless face turned in the direction to which he points, while the left arm is dropped. A

part of this figure in the centre of the pedimental group appears on a larger scale in Fig. 127. This impassive form, corresponding to the Zeus of the east pediment, cannot be Peirithoös, the insulted bridegroom, who would naturally join in the *mêlée* of battle. It must be a god, present but unseen, whose beardless face and youthful form tell us that it is Apollo, the head of these contending forces; his commanding quiet contrasting strongly with their tumultuous, exaggerated action around him. His colossal head is impressive in its severity: almond-shaped eyes, a pronounced chin, and very regular curls around the brow, unite to form a whole which calls to mind the stern types of youthful faces on the earliest red-figured vases, such as those by Hieron, Euphronios, and others.⁴⁶⁹ In the subtle Parian marble his form seems vigorous, and full of bold surfaces, but loses much of its peculiar attraction in the cast. One of the fragments of his drapery, fallen so as not to suffer exposure, was found colored a brilliant red.

On each side of this towering god, not single figures meet us, loosely arranged in epic simplicity, as in the Ægina pediments, but groups of two and three most intricately interlaced, and full of dramatic fire, still, however, expressed with exaggeration. First we see, on each side, a group of three,—a centaur, a struggling woman, and a warring hero. Perhaps the centaur over which the god stretches his hand is Eurytion carrying off Deidameia, who with all her might pushes off her foe. One hand



Fig. 128. Apollo from the West Pediment. Olympia.

is put against his forehead, and the other against his beastly face. The hero coming to her aid, and perhaps her husband, Peirithoös, has hair bound up in festive style, and drapery falling off in his excited action. In the group on the opposite side of the god, and figure for figure corresponding to this one, but in detail well varied from it, much of the struggling victim is preserved, who expresses her distress and shame as she tries to free herself from the centaur grasping her breast. The upper part of this agitated figure is represented in Fig. 129; and her expressive face in phototype, in the Selections, Plate I., where the stern build of the face, in all its archaic severity, as it looks straight forward, appears to good advantage, as well as the bands bound about the hair. By a slight bend of this head, however, speaking shadows are cast into it, and the expression of trouble comes into the eyes and mouth. The

form of Theseus standing by, swinging his weapon, and the gaping wound in this centaur's beastly head, assure us that soon he must succumb, and his beautiful victim be freed.

Beyond these groups of three, a group of two is crowded in on each side. On one side a centaur seems, as it were, to come out of the background, and has a boy as his victim.⁴⁷⁰ The preserved fragment of this centaur's brutal, wrinkled face is represented in Selections, Plate I. On the opposite side a centaur also comes out of the background, so that only his front part appears as he grapples with a hero, into whose arm he is biting, causing pain, as shown

by the severe, strained features of the wounded hero.



Fig. 129. *Struggling Woman from the West Pediment. Olympia.*

Following these is a group of three on each side, far more stretched out, and corresponding to each other, figure for figure, but with agreeable variations. Here, to our right, a centaur has seized a struggling woman by the waist and one leg, as if to toss her upon his back; but a kneeling hero has caught him by the hair, and stabs him in the broad chest. The falling brute must soon loosen his hold, and succumb to his wound; as the pain written on his face, and seen in his contracting chest, assures us. While there are few lines of beauty here, how intense the action! having all the exaggeration and forced character we so often see in

early art, best illustrated on vases. There is here none of the harmoniously regulated movement of a developed style. The centaur's back bends in an ugly and unnatural hollow. Although the slope of the architecture required the fall of these figures; yet they do not, as similarly placed works of later art, adapt themselves gracefully to the limitations, but are forced and unwilling in their surrender. There is, besides, great inequality here in the execution, as, indeed, in all these groups. The left hand of the centaur, clutching his victim's leg, is a masterpiece of sculptural art; and nearly the same praise may be given all the hands. The nude, also, as seen in the centaur's chest, is well rendered. Often, however, the proportions seem very faulty. Perhaps were the statues once more raised 15.25 meters (50 feet) above the level of the eye, and placed as they originally stood, these effects might be dissipated by the effects of light, and distant perspective, as found to be the case with another statue from Olympia, the Nike of Paionios, whose long, stretched-out proportions, on a level with the eye, disappear when the fragment is raised

upon a lofty pedestal. But, while much success and a degree of assurance are certainly attained in the nude, the draped parts are lacking in vigor, and the form is lost beneath the bulky, baggy folds. Thus, in the case of this maiden seized by the centaur, and who must have sunken on one knee, we are utterly unable to trace her form beneath the cumbrous robes. As in the east pediment, the shortcomings of the drapery here teach us, it would seem, that the sculptor, devoting himself to the important task of rendering the human form, had not yet mastered the difficult problem of combining it with drapery, and that he was, perhaps, following impressions left on his mind by paintings. The fine-lined drapery, with its shallow folds sweeping in nearly parallel lines about the form, as well as the whole composition like that of a great picture, call to mind most emphatically the early red-figured vase-paintings preserved to us, the only reminiscence left of what must have been the style of the greater wall-paintings of the first half of the fifth century B.C.

The group to the left, corresponding to the one just described, is unfortunately much injured; but sufficient remains to show us, that, with shades of difference, the scheme of the two groups was the same.

Beyond these scenes on each side fall unhappy witnesses, two old women, doubtless slaves or servants of the bride Deidameia. To raise them up so as to fill out the proper space, marble cushions are placed under their arms,

which at the same time suggest the nuptial scene, where guests must have reclined. The one best preserved, and seen to our left (Fig. 130), gives expression to profound grief, as with one hand she tears her hair. So strange is the type of this face, and so unlike our preconceived ideas of what the Greeks did during this age, that it has been conjectured that these fallen women, seen in the pediment in profile, represent foreign Oriental slaves. But probably, by their wrinkles, tumbled hair, and plain garments, only age is intended, as is the case in early red-figured vases. The realism here giving the folds of the skin like those of age, the individual hairs of the eyebrows expressed by notches, as well as the agonized expression of the faces, are a great contrast



Fig. 130. Face of Fallen Slave of West Pediment. Olympia.

to the unimpassioned features of the gods, the more ideal maidens in the clutches of the centaurs, and the unconcerned females reclining in the extreme corners of the pediments. The latter figures are doubtless local nymphs, personifying the springs of Thessaly, among whose hills this mythic scene was said to have taken place. We have thus before us many elements of agreeable composition, filling up well the spaces allotted ; while there are evident signs that the sculptor felt strongly the limitations of the space, as he forces his figures to sit, kneel, crouch, or recline to suit their place.

Many resemblances between the two pediments will be observed ; for while, in the one last considered, the composition is more varied and advanced, still the execution, the build of the figures, the realism in certain details, as well as the harsh, stiff forms of many heads, and the mode of rendering drapery, are common to both. The question arising concerning the time of these sculptures is certainly of great importance in judging of them. Are they late works of a feeble provincial school, as they have been considered by some ? then they must sink to comparative insignificance, even on the supposition that they are after models due to great masters. But are they the works of an early age ? then they afford an invaluable witness to the hardly earned steps by which art climbed from the small, undraped, and disconnected figures of older days up to mighty compositions like those of the Parthenon, in which all elements—the nude, the drapery, and the composition—blend into one glorious whole. Were they executed during the earlier half of the fifth century (470 to 460 B.C.), at the time of the building of the temple ? then they give us the missing link long sought between the stern Ægina groups, and stiff, early Attic sculpture on the one hand, and the perfected marbles of the Parthenon on the other,—the latter, as we know, not completed until late in the latter half of the century. Unhappily, the architecture gives no sure answer, as in the case of the metopes, to this important question. Were it found, as in the so-called Theseion at Athens, that the sculptures of the pediments were finished before the roofing was put on, then the question would be settled at once. As it is, we are left to judge only from a comparison of the style of the monuments ; and a strong support of the theory that these colossal pedimental groups are genuine archaic works, is their close kinship to the metopes of the same building, whose execution is known, from technical grounds, to have been previous to 460 B.C. Not only in the treatment of the nude and drapery, but also in the very extensive and peculiar use of color, this similarity is most marked. Thus, resemblances may be noticed between the rendering and cut of drapery, as seen in the Athena and Hesperid metopes, compared with the Hippodameia, as well as in the leathery folds of the Stymphalos metope, compared with the numerous figures of the west pediment and the kneeling nymph of the east pediment. The signs of a genuine archaic origin in these pediments, likewise seems evident in the exaggerated action already referred to, and in the peculiar types of

the ideal faces so very like those of the old, red-figured vases. In the details we may doubtless trace, not bungling, barbarous efforts of merely unskilful workmen of a late time, but genuine archaic strivings to perfect the form. Thus, from the set features of the Cladeos up to the impassive dignity of the Apollo, and graceful face of a fallen nymph, there is evident a steady advance. The eye passes from having a conventional almond-shape to pleasing and expressive curves. While there is much realism in the east pediment, cropping out also in the faces of the old slaves of the west pediment, still, in the latter, on the whole, a higher plane seems to be attained; and the forms of gods, contending heroes, and struggling women, are more successfully idealized. There can be no doubt, that different hands were engaged on these extensive sculptures: still, there is a unity of style in them not merely superficial, but deep-seated, and affecting composition as well as detail.

But what the school whence these pedimental figures emanated, and who the masters to whom they are to be ascribed, are questions of greatest interest. According to Pausanias, the quiet chariot-group was executed by a sculptor of Mende, an Ionian settlement in Northern Greece. This was Paionios, who executed, besides, a colossal flying Nike, also discovered in Olympia, and doubtless erected during the second half of the century. The inscription on that statue shows that Paionios was actually a representative of Ionian modes.⁴⁷¹

According to Pausanias, the centaur conflict, of the opposite pediment, was by Alcamenes, whom he calls second only to Pheidias, and who, according to others, is called sometimes a native of Attica, and sometimes of Lemnos, an Ionian colony in the Ægean. Alcamenes is also termed the greatest scholar of the great Attic master.⁴⁷² If Pausanias is right in ascribing sculptures so full of tentative experimenting art to a master of so great fame as Alcamenes, then they must have been the work of his youth. Some have tried to explain Pausanias' statement, by supposing that Alcamenes made only small sketches, carried out afterwards by unskilful workmen; as he and other Attic masters may have been obliged to flee on account of the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. But the shortcomings here are not alone those of a feeble copyist enlarging a master's model: they seem part and parcel of the original composition, as seen in the faulty grouping and exaggerated action. Moreover, their intimate relationship with the sculptures of Paionios' pediment forbid our divorcing them from those works. It is difficult to reconcile another statement by Pausanias, that Alcamenes was active as late as 404 B.C., with the statement that this master was employed on the temple sculptures; for this would give him a very long and well-nigh impossible career of about sixty-six years.⁴⁷³

In regarding these puzzling sculptures, Brunn has found in both pediments a more pictorial than statuesque mode of conception and expression, and, in

connection with the origin of Paionios and Alcamenes from the north, has propounded the theory that there existed in Northern Greece a peculiar school of sculpture.⁴⁷⁴ To this school, he believes that both Alcamenes and Paionios belonged. As yet, there are few monuments from Northern-Greek soil to establish the foundations of this proposition; and, furthermore, tradition makes no mention of such a definite school. Comparison, however, of the groups of the west pediment with paintings on a Greek vase, now in Berlin, with red figures of the stern type, as well as of many single heads, with other vase-paintings dating from this century, confirm remarkably this prophetic theory, as far as it concerns the influence of painting, that strong point of Ionian art. Taking up Brunn's pregnant theory, Furtwängler has developed it more widely, believing that these works, so pictorial, and full of a bursting realism struggling for expression, are the creations of the Ionians of the northern provinces, from whom the people of Attica learned much, as is indicated by the part played by the Thasian Polygnotos, in Athens, during the early part of this century.⁴⁷⁵ The similarity even between motives in these sculptures, and those of red-figured Attic vases of the sterner type, whose artists, as we know, drew their inspiration from the great foreign Ionian painters, is most striking. Thus, on a vase now in the Berlin Museum, is to be seen the same hero who, with arms raised and drapery falling, in the Olympia pediment, attacks the centaur on the left of Apollo, as well as that beautiful woman, whose bended head is wrapped in a graceful kerchief, and who is being carried off by a centaur. Besides, a further evidence of the influence of the old Ionian element here, is the striking similarity between these marbles and the quaint story-telling and pictorial terra-cotta reliefs found on the Greek islands of the Ægean, and mentioned on p. 234. The treatment of the hair, and the caps and gay bands adorning it, worn by women, were rendered by preference, according to tradition, by Polygnotos, and is clearly genuine Ionian. The faces, with their attempt to express the emotions of the moment, and the intense excitement of the scene; and, above all, the naturalistic forms of the old seers and fallen slaves,—call to mind the recorded fact that Polygnotos knew how to represent emotion and age as well as youth.⁴⁷⁶ It is very probable that the idea of river-gods localizing the scene is also Ionian, and was later adopted by Pheidias for the pediments of the Parthenon at Athens.

It may be that different streams united in Olympia, and that to Elis came sculptors from far-off Mende and Lemnos, who worked in the lax archaic style, as well as others who produced the severer forms of Southern Greece; a comparison between these Olympia marbles and statues, found in Athens and elsewhere, seeming to favor this idea. Thus in the erect, nude male form of the so-called Apollo on the Omphalos, found at Athens, the copy of some celebrated old work, but of what master we do not know, there is in the treatment a certain resemblance to the Apollo of the west Olympia pediment;

and in the bronze priestess found at Tegea a resemblance may be traced to the stiff, precise drapery of the Hippodameia and the Athena of the Olympia metope.

But, whatever the final light which may be thrown upon the connections of these marbles, they already, like the temple structure for architecture, gloriously fill up a gap in the history of Greek sculpture just before it had reached its prime. While failing to meet the highest æsthetic demands, they lay the foundation-stones, and show us how many and varied were the tasks upon which the archaic sculptor ventured as he smoothed the way to the summit. Although he could not express individual passion, still he caught the general scheme, handing it on to be perfected by later times. Although he could not give the full benignity of the god, and his radiant character, still he made him nobler in form than mortals. Although he could not purge his realism, the fountain-source of his inspiration, of all its dross, still the stream was clearer which flowed from his creations ; and we cannot fail to recognize here one of the great tributaries of the full-flowing art-current of the early half of the fifth century, which should bear on its bosom a Pheidias.

Passing from Olympia, we turn to consider art during the early half of this fifth century in the more northern parts of Greece. From Naupactos in Locris are the names of but two sculptors, Menaichmos and Sordas, who executed an Artemis Laphria in gold and ivory as hunting.⁴⁷⁷ From Thebes in Bœotia was one Pythodoros, who executed for the Temple of Hera at Coroneia a figure of the goddess, bearing on her hand Sirens.⁴⁷⁸ Ascaros, also from Thebes, executed a thank-offering to stand in Olympia, commemorating the Phokian victory over the Thessalians. This offering was a Zeus crowned with flowers, and bearing a thunderbolt.⁴⁷⁹ This latter artist, who lived in the time of Xerxes, was probably the scholar of some Sikyon master. Two other sculptors from Thebes, Aristomedes and Socrates, gain interest as connected with their great countryman, Pindar, who piously dedicated, at the entrance to his dwelling, a temple to Kybele. The statue of the goddess seated on a throne, for this temple, was erected by these artists ; and Pausanias tells us that statue and throne were of one block of marble.⁴⁸⁰

Two monuments have been found in Bœotia which date certainly from this age, but the names of their sculptors are unknown. A fragment of the tombstone of one Agasinos was found near the modern village Proskyrta, and is now built into the wall of a church.⁴⁸¹ We see the worthy man leaning on his staff, as in the tombstone by the Naxian Alxenor ; but here the head is erect, and the drapery more natural and flowing in its lines. The shoulder and arm are admirably rendered ; color still on the cornice above, and on beard and hair, shows that painting played an important part in its finish ; but the face has, no doubt, suffered severely in the process of cleansing. The Pentelic marble

in which this pleasant low relief is carved, and its general style, call to mind Athenian work.

Remoter Northern Greece, as scanty historical records show, also produced masters of note. Here originated the celebrated painters, Aglaophon and Polygnotos, called the father of Greek painting; and Neseus, teacher of the far-famed Zeuxis. Among sculptors from this part of the world were masters like Paionios of Mende, Polygnotos, said to have been skilled in bronze as well as color, and possibly Alcamenes, Pheidias' reputed scholar and rival. Moreover, these shores of Thrace and the mountains of Chalkidike were rich in metal, and Thasos had quarries of marble; while the people that had settled there were of the artistically gifted Ionian race. Thus the materials necessary were at hand, and monuments prove that they were not neglected by this people.

In this remote part of the Greek world, inhabited by Ionians and other Greek tribes, we find more Oriental customs than in the remaining states. The reception which Xerxes received in Thrace and Chalkidike was characterized by a magnificence and splendor quite unknown to the frugal Greeks in the south, farther removed from the luxurious East. Judging from monuments, Northern Greece appears to have inherited also the spirit and methods of the near Orient in its art, which shows a character different from that of the works found in the Peloponnesos and Attica, but resembling that of Asia-Minor sculptures.⁴⁸² Ancient coins at first roused attention to peculiarities of style not to be met with in coins of Southern Greece.⁴⁸³ The oldest of these are stamped with figures of unusual broadness and heaviness: they have schematic treatment of details, but skilful technique, doubtless inherited from Asia Minor, where a long practice had developed skill of hand. Coins of later date, from Acanthos in Chalkidike, show the same broad and heavy forms, although somewhat moderated. In these an undue fulness of the whole design, and a fatty appearance in the details, are to be seen; thus a lion's mane, and the folds in his neck, though technically excellent, are rendered in a schematic and decorative manner, spread over the whole surface of the coin. A succession of Northern-Greek coins, well represented in the British Museum, and marked by these peculiarities, has, moreover, been traced from far back in the sixth century B.C., through the time when archaic art was developing freer forms (480-450 B.C.), and down to a riper period.

But not coins alone witness to the artistic activity on these shores: reliefs recently discovered, and increasing in number, likewise throw light upon it. One of these, a fragmentary tomb-relief, found in Abdera (Thrace), and now preserved in Athens, represents the head of a youth, with a part of his shoulder. The generous fulness, and soft masses of regularly laid hair, in this work, are more pleasing to the eye than the rigid, harsh muscles and severe locks of such archaic works as the Æginetan statues. On nearer observation,

however, we find that in many of the forms, especially about the eyes, which are but narrow, shapeless slits, there is wanting the admirable correctness of the Æginetan marbles, as well as that inner life seen in Attic sculptures, in comparison with which this face is heavy and sleepy. The resemblance to Asia-Minor marbles, however, such as the early Ephesos reliefs, is strong; and it is probable that here we may trace another, but somewhat more advanced, phase of Ionian art.

A relief in the Louvre, from Pharsalos in Thessaly, is similar in style to this Abdera head, but a decided advance upon it. Over its surface there is spread a charm of dignity and quiet which wins the beholder's admiration at



Fig. 131. Relief from Pharsalos. Thessaly. Louvre.

once. The subject, for which no mythological interpretation has been found, is a simple one, and once decorated a tombstone (Fig. 131). It seems to be a happy variation of the stiff old motive in which a single flower—a symbol or offering—was held aloft, as we have seen in the Harpy monument and the Laconian tombstones (Figs. 88, 100). Here the figures do not seem to approach an image of the deceased; but we see two girls—friends, and perhaps sisters—offer each other flowers. How daintily they hold the buds, their hands themselves so gracefully grouped as to suggest a bunch of flowers! How absorbing the interest expressed in these bended heads! One of the flowers is raised high, and suggests to M. Heuzey the idea of worship; and he has therefore given the relief the graceful name, *l'exaltation de la fleur*.⁴⁸⁴ So easy is the flow of lines and fulness of design, well-nigh covering the background, that one is tempted, at first glance, to assign to these forms the freedom of art in its full prime. A second look, however, at the fixed smile; the

eyes in full front view, although the face is in profile; at the schematic treatment of the hair-bands, and the absence of one breast, although the other is strongly marked; together with the neglect of the form below, which cannot be divined through the drapery, — shows how successfully the sculptor has blinded our eyes by the ease he has lent his work. How different the pleasing grace of line, and the agreeable gradations of light and shade, from the sharply defined and sterner reliefs found about Sparta. The effect seems akin to that produced by the painter, and is admirably adapted for purposes of decorative relief. The lack of that vigor and strong inner life seen in the head of the Attic disk-thrower, p. 217, marks well the difference between this work and early Attic reliefs, but approaches the negligent ease of Asia-Minor marbles, and may be another witness to the sources whence Attica drew its inspiration.

As further illustrating this early art in Northern Greece, and confirmatory of Brunn's observation of peculiarities of style, may be mentioned a fine tombstone from Thessalonica, now in Constantinople, representing a youthful warrior (cast in Munich); as well as two tombstones, recently discovered in Larissa in Thessaly, in a Turkish graveyard, but now removed to the Central Museum at Athens.⁴⁸⁵ On one of these stands a female with slightly bended head, wearing a short veil, and clad in a heavy *chiton*. Over her head may be read, "I am Polyxenaia." With one hand she holds her veil, and in the other carries a pomegranate. That this lady is represented in the olden style, appears from the quaint form of her hands and drapery, her almond-shaped eyes, and the archaic letters of the inscription. The resemblance in the style of this graceful but faulty sculpture to the Pharsalos sisters is such as to allow us to class them together. To a somewhat later date belongs a second tombstone, that of a youth found in the same place. He holds out in one hand a cock, and raises, with the other, two small injured objects that look like pointed leaves.

In these marbles Brunn recognizes a pictorial element rendering the appearance of things, but lacking in actual statuesque character. With them may be grouped, on account of a similarity in style, the Philis tombstone from the neighboring Thasos (Selections, Plate II.), and the Olympia temple sculptures by Paionios and Alcamenes; thus teaching us of a large family of sculptures, which, with the kindred but humbler terra-cotta reliefs from the islands, show us, no doubt, old Ionian sculpture laying up a rich inheritance, to be passed on to its gifted daughter on Attic soil. Although the pictorial element evident in these is somewhat foreign to the strict spirit of statuary, we may believe it was a new feature of importance most necessary to perfection, and should, when rightly applied, be productive of most pleasing modifications in the stern forms of an art striving pre-eminently for correctness.

SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY.

From the artistic activity of the first half of the fifth century in Greece, we may pass over to Sicily and Southern Italy, where Tyrants, who, as has been seen, were great patrons of art, still held control over the people.

The name of but one master — Pythagoras — who was active in Rhegion is preserved, but an inscription found recently at Olympia informs us that he came from Ionian Samos.⁴⁸⁶ Like his great fellow-countryman, the philosopher Pythagoras of an earlier day, he was reputed to have been exceedingly homely in feature. Pliny also tells us, that he was in his prime in Olymp. 90. He must, however, at that time have been a very old man, if the statement be true that he won the prize over his great contemporary, Myron, in the early part of the century.⁴⁸⁷ Pausanias calls him a scholar of Clearchos of Rhegion, who, in the sixth century, had learned his profession of Spartan and Corinthian masters.⁴⁸⁸ The material used by Pythagoras was exclusively bronze; and, judging from the records of the ancients, he must have lent a marked individuality to his creations. None of his original works have, however, been preserved; nor is a single reproduction of his many statues known to us with certainty. One god by Pythagoras, an Apollo shooting a serpent, perhaps the Python, cannot, as has been supposed, be echoed to us on small silver coins of Croton in Southern Italy, where such a scene is represented; since the composition seems planned directly for the coins.⁴⁸⁹ For the son of Mnaseas of Kyrene, Cratisthenes, a victor in the chariot-race at Olympia, Pythagoras executed his statue in a chariot, and with steeds. Nike, the goddess of Victory, likewise occupied the chariot; and we are reminded, by this description, of a gold coin of the middle of the fourth century, from Kyrene, in which an archaic and statuesque Nike thus appears on the chariot, and is possibly a reminiscence from this group by Pythagoras, which must long have been celebrated among the Kyreneans.⁴⁹⁰ Europa on a steer, in bronze, was a work by this master, which was anciently in Tarentum.⁴⁹¹ His portrait of a Theban musician, in a long robe and with lyre, came to be called "the just," from the circumstance, that, when Thebes was devastated by Alexander in the following century, this statue faithfully guarded in the folds of its drapery money hidden there by a fugitive.⁴⁹² Of mythological heroes, Pythagoras is said to have represented the struggle of Eteocles and Polyneikes, the Theban brothers, as well as a Perseus with wings.⁴⁹³ But his bronze figure of a wounded hero at Syracuse, probably Philoctetes, has become more celebrated than any of these.⁴⁹⁴ In it the sufferings of this Trojan hero, "from a venomous wound made by a serpent's fangs," were so admirably expressed, that the figure received the name of the "limping statue." One poet puts into Philoctetes' mouth the sad lament, that the sculptor had made unending his pain, having embodied it in imperishable bronze.⁴⁹⁵ Many are the scenes on gems, vases, and in bronze.

which represent this wounded hero; but whether any of them bear relationship to Pythagoras' statue we do not know. It is said of Pythagoras, moreover, that he was the first to evolve the expression of rhythm and symmetry; and it is possible, that, in one little gem representing Philoctetes, and now in Berlin, we have an intimation of these qualities, every part sharing in the motion of the whole. It is expressed partly in the crossing of the muscular action from one side of the body to the other. Thus, the left arm seems to share with the right leg the strained movement, while the right arm and lame left leg show their sympathy by a laxer motion.⁴⁹⁶

More numerous than his statues of gods, goddesses, and mythological heroes, were Pythagoras' athletes for the sacred grove at Olympia. Seven were seen by Pausanias, who, in spite of his usually succinct style, does not omit to praise several of them.⁴⁹⁷ One was a statue of Euthymos, said to have been especially fine. Wherein its excellences consisted, Pausanias fails to tell us, only recounting the heroic honors received by this athlete, who, after winning in Olymp. 74, 76, and 77, in the struggle of boxers, was accredited with superiority to common mortals. He was said to have fought successfully with an ancient hero who held a virgin in durance in his temple. The victorious Euthymos, having freed her, took her to wife, and lived many years, until one day he miraculously disappeared, never to be seen again. The pedestal, but unfortunately not the statue, of this famous boxer, has been discovered at Olympia, with Pythagoras' name.⁴⁹⁸ Other statues by this master were a wrestler, a racer in full armor, besides a pancratiast which stood in Delphi, and secured Pythagoras the prize over Myron.⁴⁹⁹ That his athletes were not all portraits we can be sure; since an *iconic*, or portrait-statue, was allowed only to those who had been thrice victorious. This subordination of the portrait in statuary, doubtless caused the sculptor's energies to be directed to the careful rendering of the body; and it is said of Pythagoras in this regard, that he made the sinews and veins as had not been done before.⁵⁰⁰ It is barely possible that the advance noticed from the older to the later Æginetan marbles in the representation of veins and muscles, may illustrate the changes attributed to Pythagoras in this direction. Previous to his time the treatment of the hair also had been conventional, its lines of mathematical regularity, or in stiff spirals. Here, also, Pythagoras is said to have introduced new ways. The difficulty of expressing in marble, or dark, harsh bronze, the softness and airiness of hair, with the thousand varying lights playing about it, together with the massed effect of nature, is felt even to-day. In works of sculptors, otherwise marked by originality, we find that the hair is conventionally treated; or, as the workmen in the studios express it, when asked for information, "the hair is always made so nowadays."

From such scattered notices is obtained our fragmentary knowledge of this great master. The only satisfactory conclusion is the general one, that, through

the introduction of continual and fine changes, he took steps which should lead up to greater truthfulness and perfect rhythmical motion.

The Tyrants of Sicily and people of Southern Italy were in intimate intercourse with Greece. Besides the Samian Pythagoras, they employed, to execute many thank-offerings for their Olympic shrines, masters from the parent-land. So, as we have seen, for the Tarentines, Onatas and Ageladas worked; Glaukias of Ægina for Gelon; Glaucos and Dionysos of Argos, for Smikythos of Rhegion; and for Hieron, Tyrant of Syracuse, we shall find that Calamis of Athens was employed.

Neither Southern Italy nor Sicily appears to have been favored with native marble; and the quarries of Carrara, in the north, were not discovered until the second century of our era. The old sculptors in Southern Italy were then obliged to use either stone or imported marble. Such a lack of suitable material must have been an obstacle in their way, and may partially explain the fact, that in Sicily and Southern Italy, though settled by people from Greece, marble sculpture, even in later times, never seems to have developed as, in Greece itself.

In Southern Italy very few archaic sculptural monuments have been discovered. The metopes of an old Doric temple at Pæstum, afterwards used in a Roman structure, are so seriously injured that it is well-nigh impossible to divine even their subjects.⁵⁰¹ In Metapontum, a few fragments of sculpture in relief, of an early transitional style, have very recently been discovered; at Tarentum, thousands of terracottas, some of which show a like early origin; and at Locri a few others of more agreeable composition.⁵⁰² Thus, little by little, the hidden things are coming out in Southern Italy, to throw light on the art of the early half of the fifth century. But as yet they are so fragmentary, that, for our knowledge of the art-life of these colonies at that time, we are still mainly dependent upon coins beautifully illustrated in Gardner's "Types of Greek Coins."

A small female figure, standing on an Ionic pillar, and once carrying a basket, all in bronze, was bought in Pæstum, where it was probably found, and is now in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 132). The archaic character and the mounting of this little work give it interest, as well as its old dedicatory inscription, and the religious usages it expresses. From literary sources we know that it was customary for young maidens of good family, spotless character, and beautiful person, to bear on the head, in religious processions, a basket containing objects necessary in the ritual.⁵⁰³ The Attic basket-bearers, or *canephoroi*, in life were arrayed in rich robes, studded with gold-leaf, and bore



Fig. 132. Phillo's Dedicatory Gift to Athena, a Canephoros in Bronze. From Pæstum. Berlin Museum.

on their heads sacred baskets, likewise richly ornamented with precious metal. They were required to observe a solemn demeanor suited to their honored position as priestesses; and the effect of their persons was heightened by artificially colored cheeks and beautiful jewellery, the property, as we are told, of the temple. How inspiring to the sculptor the sight of these maidens must have



Fig. 133. Bronze Statuette with Eyes of Diamonds. British Museum.

been as they walked in stately procession, bearing their treasure! Their statues were, however, not due to æsthetic inspiration alone. The main cause was the pious custom of dedicating to deity an image, in remembrance of the duties performed in the ritual. Thus, in this bronze from Pæstum, we have one of these youthful priestesses, whom we should picture to ourselves as steadying lightly the basket, now gone, with one hand, and with the other lifting her long, trailing Ionian robes, as she advances one foot.

An archaic verse, reading from right to left, encircles the top of the pillar, stating that Phillo dedicates this as a tithe to Athena; thus showing, that the office of *canephoros* must have had some remuneration, a tenth of the income being presented to the goddess. This quaint figure, exquisite in finish, and elaborate in its drapery, as it stood on its slender Ionic column, of which only the capital is preserved, indicates to us, besides, the variety in the ancient modes of mounting votive statuettes.

There is, in the British Museum, a beautiful bronze, which purports to come from Verona, but is, doubtless, the work of some genuine Greek master (Fig. 133). It is seven inches high, and exquisite in execu-

tion. This ancient lady has a round face of rare sweetness, but of decided strength; and out of her eyes gems still flash a tender, bewitching light. Her toilet is an elaborate old-fashioned one, very like that of Phillo, the basket-bearer of Pæstum; but her hair is differently arranged. This dainty figure, of whose grace and charm, like that of the first buds of spring, it is difficult to gain an adequate impression except in its presence, still stands on its tiny pedestal, and must have been, like Phillo's statuette, one of those votive gifts

so frequently consecrated to deity by pious worshippers of antiquity. The left hand with its symbol, which would give us a key to its name and office, is, alas! now gone. The gesture of the other hand is like that of the *cane-phoros* above described, and is worthy of notice. On old vase-paintings, Aphrodite, unlike the stern Athena, appears continually thus playing with her garment. On the handle of a mirror, in the British Museum, where she is accompanied by Eros, she raises her robe, as does this statuette. But other goddesses of archaic style also have this gesture, as seen in the figures found in Athens and on Delos, as well as in one with lions, perhaps Kybele, from a mirror-handle in the British Museum. As we have seen in Phillo's figure, it is not a gesture confined to goddesses, but shared by mortals. Its frequent recurrence in so many old works seems to suggest a movement taken from life of lifting trailing garments. This attitude came to be applied to statuary by artists who at first used it indiscriminately for different goddesses. In time it doubtless gained a special religious significance, and as such was adopted by the Romans to characterize their goddess Spes. In the exquisite face of this statuette in the British Museum; in its form, no longer buried, but hesitatingly reflected, by the quaint, regular drapery, bordered by a meander of inlaid silver and enamel,—the artist has produced a work which, although of inferior size, is great in art. How delicate his taste in representing the eyes! Our prepossession is not in favor of the inlaid eyes, said to have been commonly used in ancient Greek masterpieces. We suspect that they must have given a painfully lifelike expression; and so we prefer the dark, cavernous sockets, which we are accustomed to see, despoiled of their gems. But how tender and gentle the expression of life lent to this face by the sparkle of the diamonds! Instead of imitating the natural eye in its details, our artist has simply lodged a point of light in the dark silver eyeball. In view of such works, in which we still feel the bands binding the artist, but through them his striving to attain the beautiful, our admiration may well be enkindled.

That this work, so full of the Greek spirit, should have come from Verona, whither it may have floated in trade from the neighboring Etruria, should not surprise us; since a figure very like it, but wearing shorter garments, was found in the latter country.⁵⁹⁴ There is much reason to believe, in consequence of comparisons made by modern study, that such fine archaic bronzes were not of Etruscan manufacture, but were imported from the Greek colonies in Southern Italy, and probably also from the corresponding cities in their parentlands, whence came, as already seen, even so great a master as Pythagoras of Samos. To this family of archaic bronzes of grand style from Italy, but far too noble to be of Etruscan origin, must belong such works as the famous Chimæra in Florence, and the splendid Cortona lamp, full of the early Ionian spirit despite their Etruscan inscriptions, which were doubtless scratched in afterwards.⁵⁹⁵

Sicily offers somewhat more in archaic sculpture than do its neighboring states; its works being well-preserved temple-sculptures from Selinus, now in the museum at Palermo.⁵⁰⁶ These are in stone, and decorated a temple built later than that to which the famous metopes of Selinus, described above, belonged (p. 221). Among the sculptures are scenes from the combats of gods with giants,—the same subject which, as we have seen (p. 211), had been employed by other and older sculptors to decorate the Megara treasury in Olympia. On one of these reliefs (Fig. 134), now in the Palermo Museum, a goddess, probably Athena, appears, planting one foot firmly on the leg of her fallen enemy,



Fig. 134. Athena slaying a Giant. From Selinus. Palermo.



who raises his arm as if to defend himself. As the upper half of the goddess is unfortunately gone, we can only imagine her gesture of attack or triumph. Her motion is full of swing, but not stormy, as may be seen from the quiet drapery. In keeping with ancient song, the giant here is shaped and armed like men, having a trim human form and warrior's helmet. His position is natural; but his stereotyped face, painfully regular hair and beard, and the position of Athena's farther foot, planted firmly on the ground when it should naturally be poised on the toes, show clearly that this relief has its place among those archaic works in which many features of the old still appear, but are vanishing before the strong new life.

CHAPTER XVI.

ADVANCED ARCHAIC SCULPTURE (*concluded*).—ATTICA.

Prominence of Attica.—Character of its Population.—National Customs, etc.—Influence of these on Art.—Themistocles.—Kimon.—Polygnotos.—Statues of Tyrant-slayers.—Critios and Nesiotes.—Hegias.—Notices of Artistic Activity.—Existing Monuments.—Relief of Charioteer mounting Chariot.—Relief of Hermes Criophoros.—Calamis and his Works.—Myron and his Works.—His Marsyas.—His Animals.—Myron's Cow.—The Discobolos.—The Athlete dropping Oil.—Athlete of the Vatican.—General Characteristics of the Art of this Period.

THE interest of this fifth century culminates in Attica. During the Persian war, Athens had been the stronghold of patriotism. Athenians had fortified their city, and fallen on many battle-fields; while other states had lingered in the background, or fraternized with the enemy. It is not strange, then, that Athens reaped in time the richest harvest, and that the Attic state, although overrun, plundered, and twice burned, by the Persians, during the early part of the fifth century, was the seat of an artistic activity which should surpass that of its senior sisters of the Peloponnesos. From time immemorial the Ionian Athenians had, unlike the exclusive Spartans, hospitably received all new-comers, whether from the Peloponnesos, or Ionia in the East. Thus fresh life was poured into the state, and its civilization became a rich blossom of all that had gone before. The banished nobility of other states, the cream of the people, had been welcomed here; and, intermingling with the old Athenian aristocracy, these independent and more experienced families had formed a happy union with the old, native, conservative stock. From such union sprang men like Pericles and Alkibiades; and to this spirit was due the broad, generous policy so strongly contrasted to that of their exclusively mercantile neighbor Corinth, and the narrow-minded peoples of other parts of the Peloponnesos. A wise ordering of the state, and great regard for public and private duty, had prepared the Athenians for the stern ordeal of the Persian war, and brought them successfully through it. Children had been taught that obedience was a religious duty; and parents and guardians who neglected the children's welfare were called to account before the Areopagus, and subjected to public dishonor. The physical well-being of the youth was cared for by daily exercise in the *palæstra* and gymnasium, in which generations of robust, beautiful, and well-trained men were reared. Soul and mind were moulded by the

study of their classics, and by the cultivation of music. The Homeric *epos* awakened the heroic sense and a love for great deeds; while the hymns and lyric verse, with their pious aspirations, and rich fund of holy legend, aroused the religious sentiment in the breast of each free-born Athenian boy. Thus public-minded citizens were produced, broad in the scope of their character, and manifold in their interests; and the effect of this liberal training was to make the Athenians, first of all, citizens, and after that merchants, sailors, etc. Moreover, they clung affectionately to their ancient gods, who they believed had aided them in the ordeal of war, and given them the victory at Marathon. Pan, of old an honored Athenian deity, came, they believed, to their aid; and Theseus arose from the underworld to join his people in battle. It was said that the heroes Marathon and Echetlos were seen fighting even in the ranks. Simplicity also marked this age. The rich dwelt in unpretending houses, and only the gods were worthy of dwellings of beautiful stone and fine workmanship. The adherence of the Athenians to their old divinities was, moreover, mingled with deep, intensely human feelings. This more truly human spirit showed itself in the humblest departments of art. The Attic vase-painters no longer keep the stiff, conventional groupings, and well-nigh exclusively typical mythical scenes, they had learned from their neighbors.⁵⁹⁷ They ascribe far more of the poetry of human life to the actions of their gods and heroes, and introduce, in addition, into their art, every-day scenes, such as pleasant pictures from the schoolroom, and the like. We long to be able to picture to ourselves, in detail, the Attic life of this century, which was bringing to blossom the flowers of a civilization richer than any that had gone before. To realize its perfect bloom, we need but call to mind the names of the poets, philosophers, and statesmen of this century, — Æschylos, Sophocles, Euripides, Socrates, Aristides, Themistocles, and Pericles; and her sculptors, — a Myron, a Calamis, and a Pheidias.

In daily life, as we are told, the ceremonious linen robes of the men of the olden time, trailing upon the ground, came to be supplanted by a shorter, lighter garb, consisting of a woollen under-garment without sleeves, and a four-cornered mantle wrapped about the body, leaving the right shoulder bare. The hair was no longer left to grow, and be adorned with a golden *cicade*, nor the beard trimmed into a prim and pointed shape. The solemn, stately gait while treading the street, with slaves bearing cushioned chairs, was no longer in vogue. Dress and life became adapted to the earnest, active duties of citizens in a new state fermenting with fresh life.

According to tradition, the Daidalids had long practised their trade in Athens: but in the sixth century, according to the monuments, the influence of Asia Minor and the islands, especially Paros, prevailed in sculpture; and thus seeds pregnant with rich fruit had been sown on this susceptible Attic soil.

Under Themistocles, during the first decade of the fifth century, the walls

of threatened Athens steadily arose in the midst of difficulties as great as those met by Nehemiah and Ezra in a similar work. A law freed from taxation workmen and artists engaged in thus rebuilding and fortifying the city, and numbers were attracted thither to vie with one another and the native Athenians in their labors. Later, from Thasos came also Polygnotos, the father of Greek painting, destined to exercise a great influence on Attic art, and to assist Kimon in commencing to beautify Athens,—a work which Pericles and his associates should carry to highest perfection.

What we know of the Attic sculptors of the first part of this century is associated with a great political change which took place during the latter half of the preceding century. The later Tyrants of the house of Peisistratos, Hipparchos and Hippias, then assumed the bearing of luxurious foreign princes, rather than of free-born, frugal Greeks; and their over-weening spirit awakened a general feeling of discontent among the Athenians. Hipparchos went so far as to insult a noble old Athenian family by refusing the daughter a place among the bearers of the sacred baskets in Athena's festive procession, as was her right with other high-born maidens of the city. Her offended brother, Harmodios, and his older friend, Aristogeiton, determined to have vengeance, and resolved to slay the Tyrants on the day of the festival. Tyrants and people were assembled, when the conspirators, believing themselves betrayed, rushed prematurely into the crowd; and in the *mêlée* Hipparchos and Harmodios were slain. The enraged and affrighted Hippias, having quelled the disturbance, imprisoned those suspected, and put many of them to torture. In 510 B.C. Hippias was, however, obliged to flee; and the two friends who had brought about this result were looked upon as the martyrs of freedom and the saviors of the people. Their statues, the work of Antenor, were set up in a public place in Athens in honor of the now deified heroes.⁵⁰⁸ Offerings were made, and song brought its tribute, saying that Harmodios was not dead, but lived on the island of the blest, companion of Achilles and Diomedes. This group, by Antenor, was carried off by Xerxes, who robbed Athens in 480 B.C. of many of its precious ancient images. Long centuries after, a Greek conqueror, a successor of Alexander, returned these loved objects from far-off Ecbatana in Persia to Athens. Coming by way of Rhodes, the statues of the heroes were received with great religious pomp, and honored with a festival such as was held to the gods.

Still another Attic sculptor, Amphicrates, is known to us in connection with this bold attempt to slay the Athenian Tyrants.⁵⁰⁹ Upon the death of Hipparchos, the surviving ruler, Hippias, put to torture the girl Leaina, Aristogeiton's friend, in order to force from her information concerning the conspiracy. The girl, however, kept silent, until death put an end to her sufferings. The good old Athenians, desirous to honor such courage, but unwilling, as the story goes, to honor a courtesan with a statue on the Acrop-

olis, ordered Amphicrates, as suggestive of her name, to execute the statue of a lioness, whose open, tongueless jaws should indicate the girl's steadfast silence. After Xerxes' plundering expedition, a new group, in bronze, of the two Tyrant-slayers was erected at Athens in place of the one carried off by the invader. This was done by Critios and Nesiotes, the latter, perhaps, from Naxos.^{509a} Numerous repetitions of an excited group of two men rushing forward in attack, indicate that the original from which these works were derived was a very favorite one in antiquity. These are found on coins (*tetradrachmæ*), leaden

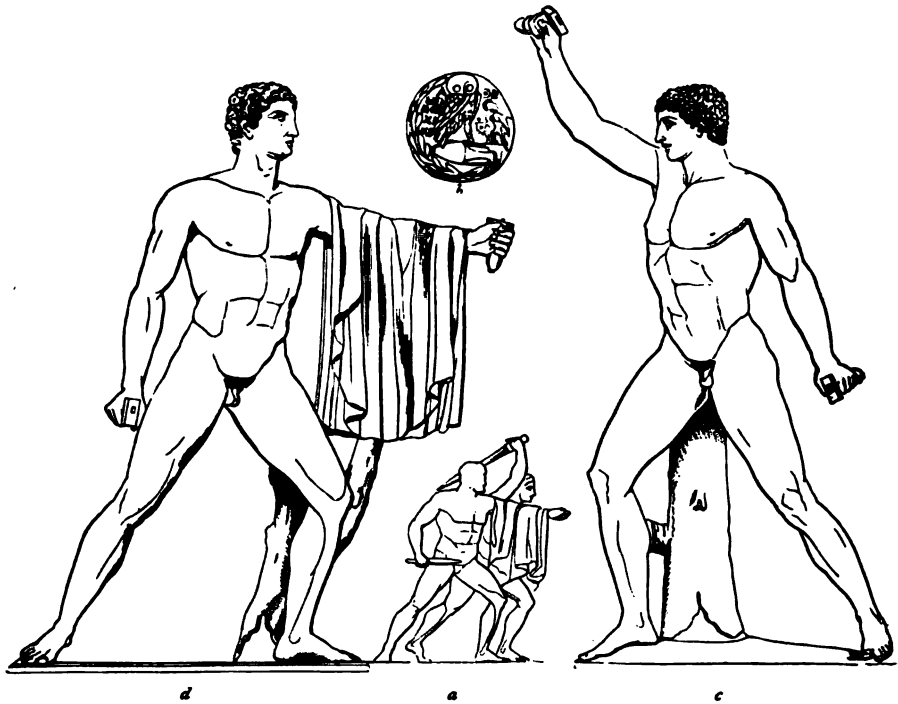


Fig. 135. Harmodios and Aristogeiton: (a) Relief from Chair in Athens; (b) Coin of Athens; (c, d) Statues in Naples,—all traceable to a Group by Critios and Nesiotes.

marks and vases from Athens, all of which are doubtless allied to the group by Critios and Nesiotes.⁵¹⁰ Instances of these repetitions of this subject are on the shield of an Athena, painted on a prize-vase now in the British Museum; on the arm of a marble chair found in Athens (Fig. 135 a); and on Athenian coins of the fifth century (b). It has also been recognized in the statues (c, d) now in Naples, restored as gladiators standing apart, and, where untouched by the restorer, having a lean and sinewy look. In Florence also is a *replica* of one of the statues, but executed without any archaism. In these groups the majority of archæologists recognize Aristogeiton in the older, bearded figure with extended arm, on which hangs his mantle; and in the younger Harmodios, who raises his arm as if to strike a blow. On a vase in Würzburg, this

same group appears, storming against a Tyrant, thus making well-nigh conclusive the relationship of all these monuments to the bronze figures of the Attic heroes by Critios and Nesiotes. The head of the Aristogeiton (*d*) in Naples is restored: and it is possible that a bearded head in Madrid, inscribed Pherekydes, may belong to it, as suggested by Treu; but the life which must have pulsed in the body of the energetic Tyrant-slayer is certainly not expressed in this neck, whose muscles seem inactive, and more suited to a statue in quiet. That Critios' and Nesiotes' group must have enjoyed a very great fame, appears from its frequent representation on so many different kinds of Athenian monuments, sometimes as seen from one side, and sometimes from the other. The fire of these excited companions, and the earnestness of their mission, moreover, seem exaggerated in expression, in true keeping with the olden time, to which the group must have belonged.

Critios, one of the sculptors of this celebrated group, is said to have been the head of a school which lasted for several generations; but, of the masters comprising it, we know little besides their names. It may be possible, in time, to trace in archaic Attic works its influence.⁵¹¹ Several tantalizing inscriptions from pedestals have been found on the Acropolis, with the names of Critios and Nesiotes; but we learn nothing from them of their works and artistic style, compared by Lucian to that of the old writers, "compressed, sinewy, rigid, and sharply outlined."⁵¹² Pliny styles these men the rivals of Pheidias; but they were, no doubt, much his seniors.⁵¹³

Another old Attic master, Hegias, is also mentioned. His works are said by Pliny to have been an Athena; a Pyrrhos, son of Achilles; and the Dioscuri, seen in later days before the temple of Jupiter Tonans at Rome.⁵¹⁴ His *celetizontes pueri* may have been like those boys on horseback, connected with the graves, such as we have seen in painting decorated the tombstone of Lysias; and such a figure in the round, in the hard style of early art, has been discovered near Athens.⁵¹⁵ The general interest of this Athenian master lies, however, not so much in his works, termed harsh and stiff by the ancients, as in the fact that he was the first teacher of Pheidias.

From the scanty literary notices of artistic activity in Athens during the years previous to the Persian war, we learn that Miltiades consecrated a goat-footed Pan on the Acropolis, and that Themistocles put up a statue of a water-carrying maiden, as a warning against the abuse of water-privileges; the cost of the statue having been defrayed with moneys collected as fines for such abuse. This figure was carried off by the Persians with their other booty. When the wall of Athens, three years after the battle of Salamis, was to be built, in accordance with the decision of people and council, a statue of Hermes Agoraios was dedicated by the *archons*,—a work so fine, that, as we learn, it became thoroughly black from the continual moulds taken by later artists.⁵¹⁶

Of existing Athenian monuments, dating from this time of transition, and showing the attainments of Attic artists, we have painfully few. Socrates the philosopher, son of Sophroniscos a sculptor, was said to have followed, in his youth, his father's profession; and the *ciceroni* about the Acropolis showed Pausanias a group of Graces said to have been from his hand.⁵¹⁷ Fragments of this work have probably been preserved to us in a relief on the Acropolis; but, if these graceless Graces were indeed executed by Socrates, we do not wonder that he exchanged his father's profession for that of philosopher.

One relief on the Acropolis shows us, however, all the beauty and grace of budding Attic art ⁵¹⁸ (Fig. 136). It represents a draped figure mounting a



Fig. 136. Relief found in Athens. Chariot and Charioteer. Athens.

chariot, while the horses seem to be standing still. As the head-dress is that generally worn by bearded figures, it is difficult to tell whether it is a male or female charioteer. The contrast to the sterner Æginetan art is evident in the easy bend of the form and the eager naturalness of gesture, showing clearly that exuberant life in Attic art which corresponds with ancient descriptions of the people. But the regularity of the folds of the drapery, and the carefully hanging zigzags, show that freedom is not yet attained; although there is a fascination about the quaintly graceful forms, like that of early buds promising a world of beauty when summer has unfolded their closed and delicate petals.

A no less beautiful work is a small altar, discovered in Athens, having all the features of genuine archaic art. On one side (Fig. 137) is seen Hermes, still bearded and elderly, carrying on his shoulders one of the rams of the flocks he protects, and holding his *kerykeion*, or *caduceus* (Hermes Criophoros).⁵¹⁹ On

another side of the altar is a gracefully draped goddess, perhaps Aphrodite. In the form of Hermes, there is all the grandeur and breadth of a well-nigh perfectly developed art, the hair and drapery alone betraying its origin before the climax had been reached. That this grand fragment is not a late imitation of some fine archaic original, but a genuine production of those old times, appears, moreover, from the ornament happily preserved on the upper cornice of the altar. Here there is still the restraint and extreme simplicity of old borders: while in archaistic reliefs, although attempts are made to give the human figure in all its stiffness, in the borders the artist revels in the full luxury of richly developed forms; instance the well-known marble standard of the Dresden Museum, where Apollo and Heracles contend for the sacred tripod. Such works as this unpretending altar, with its grandly conceived reliefs, calling to mind somewhat the noble simplicity of figures on the earlier red-figured vases, may, no doubt, give us a very high idea of the attainments of Attic art during the earlier half of the fifth century B.C.

A few single statues discovered in Athens show, moreover, that different streams of influence were probably here at work; and it is one of the great and absorbing problems of modern archæology to trace out these streams, and their effects on the time to come. One of these peculiar branches is represented by the figure of a boy discovered on the Acropolis at Athens. This statue has been published with a keen discernment of its peculiarities and affinities by Furtwängler.⁵²⁰



Fig. 137. Relief of Hermes Criophoros. One Side of an Altar found in Athens. Athens.

But there remain to be considered in Attica two masters of great importance, whose prime was in the first half of this century, — Calamis and Myron. Calamis is not positively stated to have been a native of Athens; but this may be inferred, since his works were principally there: and Praxias, his only scholar mentioned, is called an Athenian. The fact that Calamis executed for Pindar a statue of Zeus Ammon, which the poet dedicated in Thebes, must place his age before Olymp. 85, when the aged poet died.⁵²¹ Calamis' widely scattered works were most varied in subject and material. No less than three statues of Apollo are mentioned as coming from his hand. One of these, a bronze colossus 13.72 meters (45 feet) high, and reported to have cost five hundred talents (about six hundred thousand dollars), was in Apollonia on the Pontus, whence it was later removed to Rome.⁵²² Another was an Apollo Alexicacos (warder-

off of the pestilence), in the Kerameikos; and a third, in marble, is said by Pliny to have been in his day in the Servilian gardens at Rome.⁵²³ For Hieron of Syracuse he executed two horses with their boy-riders, in honor of that ruler's Olympic victories (Olymp. 78),—another proof that Calamis belongs in this period.⁵²⁴ This work was seen by Pausanias, together with Onatas' chariot.

Pliny tells us that still other chariots and horses were executed by him, the horses being always most excellent. The anecdote was told in antiquity, that a certain Praxiteles, in order that Calamis should not appear to be less able to represent men than horses, substituted for a charioteer by Calamis one from his own hand.⁵²⁵ This Praxiteles is supposed by some to have been the grandfather of the celebrated Attic master of the following century, but, by the majority of scholars, that master himself.⁵²⁶ From Calamis' hand, at Corinth, was a beardless Asclepios in gold and ivory, holding a sceptre and pineapple; and, in Tanagra, a Dionysos in Parian marble.⁵²⁷ At Tanagra was also his Hermes Criophoros, carrying a ram on his shoulders.⁵²⁸ The Tanagra Hermes was a thank-offering for the deliverance of the city from a plague. To purge the afflicted city, the god was believed to have walked about its walls, bearing on his shoulder a ram, the symbol of atonement. In after-times the most beautiful youths were chosen, at the yearly festival of this god, to carry a lamb about the walls in like manner. It has been shown by Professor von Duhn, that the graceful relief of Hermes bearing a ram, described above, cannot be a reflex of Calamis' celebrated statue of Hermes Criophoros.^{528a}

For the people of Acragas, in Sicily, he executed, in thanks for the conquest of Motya, a votive gift of bronze boys, who, with right hands raised, seemed to be praying to the gods.⁵²⁹

Of Calamis' Nike, seen by Pausanias at Olympia, we know only that it was dedicated by the Mantineians, and was wingless, after the pattern of the old image of the goddess in Athens, probably representing Athena Nike herself.⁵³⁰ At Athens, on the ascent to the Acropolis, was an Aphrodite by him, consecrated by one Callias.⁵³¹

Calamis' fame seems due principally to the grace and charm of his female figures. Among these are found frequently mentioned Aphrodite, Hermione, Alcmena, and Sosandra; and his works are continually described as combining grace with archaic severity.⁵³² He seems to have thrown around the constrained members a *finesse* hitherto unknown, and, in addition, made the soul speak through the face. The fine critic, Lucian, bears testimony to this peculiar and modest beauty of Calamis' statues, in his description of the charms of a certain lady. He says, "She has the hair, forehead, eyebrows, and languishing eye of Praxiteles' Aphrodite; the cheek, front face, hands, and feet of Alcamenes' Aphrodite; the outline of feature, softness of cheek, and proportion of nose, of Pheidias' Lemnian Athena, and the mouth and neck of his Amazon;" but he crowns all by saying, "She has the bashful demeanor, the

unconscious and chaste smile, and the well-ordered and becoming drapery, of Calamis' *Sosandra*." ^{532a} Quintilian and Cicero further declare his works to have been less rigid than those of Canachos, but by no means free from harshness; and it is perhaps suitable, with Brunn, to compare his statues with the works of the pre-Raphaelites, the saints of Perugino or Francia, and the quaint, sweet faces and forms of Mino da Fiesole. ⁵³³ Many have been the attempts to trace existing works back to this celebrated master, but his peculiarities are too vaguely transmitted by the ancients for safe conclusions.

We are much happier with regard to Calamis' contemporary, Myron, who, although a native of Boeotia, lived mostly in Athens. Like Pheidias and Polycleitos, he was a scholar of old Ageladas of Argos. Of his later years, it is related, that, although his statues were scattered from Asia Minor to Sicily, he was so poor that no one cared to be his heir. ⁵³⁴ For Ægina he executed a wooden *Hecate*. ⁵³⁵ In Ephesos was an *Apollo* from his hand, which, after being carried off, was returned by Augustus, warned to do so, it was said, in a dream. ⁵³⁶ According to Cicero, another *Apollo*, having Myron's name inlaid on its thigh in fine silver letters, was robbed by Verres from a temple at Agrigentum. ⁵³⁷ His statue of *Dionysos* was taken from its shrine in Orchomenos by Sulla, and dedicated anew on Mount Helicon, — a dealing significantly called, among the Greeks, "burning before the gods incense which belongs to another." ⁵³⁸ Two statues of *Heracles*, as well as a group of *Zeus*, *Athena*, and *Heracles*, by Myron, also passed through Roman hands. The latter work was removed from the Temple of *Hera* at Samos, to Rome, by Antony, where Augustus took from it the *Zeus*, for which he built a chapel on the Capitol, returning the two remaining figures to Samos. ⁵³⁹ Myron also executed a *Nike* on a steer; a *Perseus*, who had slain the *Gorgon*; and an *Erechtheus*, seen by Pausanias in Athens, who declared it to be remarkably fine. ⁵⁴⁰

Still one other group of a mythological character, *Athena* and *Marsyas*, is mentioned by Pliny as the work of Myron; and copies, or better suggestions, of this work, have, happily, been found on an Athenian coin, a vase, and a relief. We likewise have reminiscences of this work by Myron, in two statues, — one of life-size in marble, in the Lateran (Fig. 138); and the other a bronze, but little more than two feet high, in the British Museum, which came from Patras. ⁵⁴¹ *Athena*, according to Greek myth, had invented the flute, making it sigh out the wails and hisses of the *Gorgon* sisters. While blowing it, the goddess noticed that her features were distorted, and in anger threw away the hated instrument. The music-loving satyr, *Marsyas*, caught it up, hoping by its charmed notes to excel even *Apollo*, the god of the solemn lyre. Myron's group, as described by the ancients, and represented on a vase found at Athens, must have shown the goddess in angry gesture, checking *Marsyas* in his eager advance to catch the flute. The Lateran statue, falsely restored as if dancing, should represent him as disappointed, and drawing back from *Athena*; and the

bronze of the British Museum repeats the motive, but in more slender forms. The Lateran figure was found in Rome in the ruins of an ancient studio, with many other statues and fragments, having sculptors' tools, such as saws, still in them. It represents admirably the satyr-like character of the eager musician, who has here lost all the reminiscences of his equine origin, found on Etruscan and Dodona statuettes, and has become fully human, — having, however, still



Fig. 138. *Marsyas, traceable to an Original by Myron. Lateran Museum. Rome.*

much of the animal in the shape of the skull; the turned-up nose, with its low bridge, indicating sensuality; and the eyes set obliquely, as well as in the long ears, and full growth of bristling hair. The impression of the leap, as he retreats, is destroyed by the support necessary in the marble; but, by concealing this addition from the eye, there appears that lifelike motion so admirably rendered in Myron's Discobolos. There is, moreover, a leanness about the muscles, and a slight trace of archaic restraint in the details, which, when compared with the more slender figure of the British Museum, makes it probable that the marble approaches nearer the spirit of Myron's original than does the fine and elegant bronze. The intentness and concentration of movement on one side of this Marsyas, and the expression of a passing moment, seem to have characterized Myron's works, as preserved to us in copies from Roman times.

Myron's fame in antiquity was due more to his representations of animals than of mythological beings. His bronze cow attracted more attention than any other animal in the range of plastic art.⁵⁴² It was seen in Cicero's time on the Pnyx at Athens, and long afterwards in the Temple of Peace at Rome. In no less than thirty-six epigrams the ancient poets make her the subject of their pleasantries. "A lion," they said, to use Goethe's summary of them, "sprang upon her to tear her in pieces; tender calves sought her bronze udder; the shepherd threw his halter about her neck to lead her to pasture; some pelted her with stones, or lashed her with a whip; others even whistled to her; the farmer brought his plough to yoke her in for work; the gadfly settled on her hide; and even Myron himself was at a loss to distinguish her from the rest of his herd." But, from all these epigrammatic sayings, we gain, unhappily, no clear picture of the celebrated cow to aid us in recognizing a copy among existing monuments.

Four steers, by Myron, were taken by the rapacious Romans to their city, where they long stood in the portico of Apollo's temple on the Palatine.⁵⁴³ Myron's *pristæ*, long thought to be some sea-monster, are now shown to mean sawyers; but how they were represented is unknown.⁵⁴⁴

We gladly turn now to a class of statues for which we find illustration in existing monuments. Like Pythagoras of Rhegion, Myron was famous for numerous statues of athletes represented as engaged in their recreation, or contending in the wild excitement of *stadion* or *palæstra*. Among the latter was a celebrated bronze of one Ladas, who arrived at the goal before his fellow-competitors in the foot-race, but soon died from the over-exertion, and was buried on the banks of the Eurotas. Myron's statue represented him just at the goal, and grasping for the wreath, while the last breath appeared to flit from his half-opened lips; and the ancients declared that it seemed as though the statue must leap from its pedestal to catch the victor's prize.⁵⁴⁵

Another statue by Myron represented Timanthes, victor in the *pancratation* at Olympia. Of this man the story was told, that he was daily in the habit of spanning a strong bow. On one occasion, while on a journey, he neglected his daily practice, and, on returning home, found that he could no longer accomplish his wonted feat. Filled with chagrin, he built a fire, and, leaping into it, perished in the flames.⁵⁴⁶ Two statues by Myron at Olympia were for one Lykinos, in thanks for victory in the race. Another was in honor of Philippos from Pallene, victor in the boxing-game of the boys, and at Delphi were, according to Pliny, *pancratiasts*, as well as winners in the *pentathlon*.⁵⁴⁷

More important for us, however, was Myron's statue, the Discobolos, representing a youth preparing to throw the disk.⁵⁴⁸ Lucian saw it in Athens, and says of it, "You speak of the discus-thrower, who bends, preparatory to the throw, with the face turned towards the hand holding the disk, and with one leg bent, as though he meant to rise again after the throw."^{548a} This description so well suits several extant statues, that there can be no doubt that they are free copies of Myron's celebrated bronze original.⁵⁴⁹ The best of these (Fig. 139) is in marble, and was discovered on the Esquiline in 1781. It stood formerly in the Palazzo Massimi alle colonne, where it was jealously guarded from



Fig. 139. *Discobolos*, traceable to an Original by Myron. Rome.

the public. Its present owner, Prince Lancelotti, is equally miserly with this famous and beautiful work; and, in consequence, it has been impossible to obtain a proper illustration of it. The statue represents a youth preparing to hurl to the utmost possible distance a metallic disk, which in nature weighed about five pounds. The right arm is swung up with the heavy weight, while the body balances gracefully on the right foot, planted firmly on the ground. The left leg is drawn easily after it, as if the youth had just checked himself in running, to master greater force for the swing; and the head naturally follows the backward direction of the arm carrying the heavy weight. In another moment, with the forward swing of the arm, the disk will fly from the hand, and whiz away in the distance. This impetus to be given to the disk is shared by the whole body, even to the toes, which press the ground as if to gain a firmer hold. Thus the action of the whole statue is weighty, not only with the past, but with the future. We realize the steps the youth has taken, and await breathlessly for the next. This seizing the fleeting moment, so peculiar to Greek art, is here done with consummate skill, giving the figure an ease and naturalness which must be seen to be felt. The curve of the back, the skilful and correct rendering of the muscles, their tension on one side and contraction on the other, produce most pleasing variety. The ribs and muscles are marked off very decidedly, appearing, in fact, almost meagre. The lines of the outstretched arm, though not in themselves beautiful, do not awaken criticism, so thoroughly is our interest absorbed by the action they represent. The functions of inner life are also not neglected. The statue seems fairly to breathe. The chest dilates, the shoulders protrude, and the loins contract, producing the effect we see in a wood-cutter's strong frame when he swings upward his axe. The outer surface, thus made the mirror of inner surging life, reveals a most striking contrast to the Æginetan marbles. In the stony forms of the latter, we expect no expansion of the chest, or swelling of the muscles; but from this young athlete we await an explosive breath after his swing, and expect to see his chest take its form at rest, while he stands watching his disk fly over the ground. But Myron's statue, although lifelike, is not an exact copy of an individual. It is rather a type of the whole class of athletes, whom he continually saw in the gymnasiums or the games. He makes no attempt to have his work deceptively like nature by reproducing every accidental detail in skin, hair, and feature, like later masters who make us believe that we are looking at flesh and blood, and not bronze or marble. In harmony with what the ancients said of Myron, we find that he neglected the hair, which here falls in short, stiff curls, decidedly archaic, and inferior to the well-developed form, whose rhythm of motion we do not weary in admiring. The face, as Welcker appositely says, is one of the short, oval Attic faces, whose chaste lines attract the eye by "a severe beauty, like that of youth who have passed through the discipline of the *palæstra*," and are not effeminately luxurious in character or

person. But any expression of the soul, such as interest or enthusiasm in the game, is wanting; the power of the face lying solely in the perfect cut of the features.

Besides this Massimi Discobolos, there are several others, indicating the celebrity of Myron's great original. Among these, a copy in the Vatican (*Sala della Biga*) is a free but admirable one. The head and left fore-arm were restored by Thorwaldsen, who has, however, mis-conceived the movement of the head, as appears on following up the muscles of the chest into the neck, as well as on comparison with the Massimi statue, in which the head is antique, and corresponds to Lucian's description of the original. A small bronze copy of Myron's Discobolos is among the Munich antiques, and a fine marble is in the British Museum.⁵⁵⁰

With the light thrown upon Myron's peculiarities through the Marsyas and Discobolos, Brunn has been able to associate with his school two other statues, hitherto like waifs in the collections of ancient works.⁵⁵¹ One of these is a youthful athlete, who stands quietly dropping oil into his hand, preparatory to rubbing himself, as was customary in connection with the games. A statue of this type exists in Dresden, but one in Munich seems to retain more of the originality of Myron's semi-archaic style. According to this Munich copy (Fig. 140), the athlete had the left hand open in front of him; but, by a meaningless restoration of the right hand as extended far out (omitted in the cut), the thought of the original is rendered obscure. Let us rather imagine the right arm raised, bent at the elbow, and holding in its hand a vase, in the act of dropping oil into the left hand, which should be partly closed, and held at such a point that the delicate operation of dropping just enough oil could be watched by the bended head. How pleasingly simple, then, the motive of the composition, which seems to play about a straight line dropped from the head through the half-opened hand to the firmly planted left foot! One side, as in the Discobolos and Marsyas, is contracted. Thus, on the left side, the arm is held close to the body, the muscles are drawn in, and the toes pressed firmly into the soil, the bend of the head enhancing the effect. The right side is quite the opposite. All is easy flow, from the raised arm to the gracefully bended leg at rest. In this statue,



Fig. 140. Athlete dropping Oil into Hand. Munich.

as in the Marsyas and Discobolos, the action is concentrated in one single moment of prime interest. The head of this beautiful youth has that pleasant, short Attic oval, and strong brow, seen in the Discobolos, and the same lack of feeling or interest; the effect of the whole being mainly that of a sound mind dwelling in a sound body. The shortness of this torso and the length of the limbs giving the figure greater slenderness than most preserved figures of the fifth century B.C., make it probable, moreover, that, like the Marsyas of the British Museum, it is a late variation on the sturdier proportions of an original of Myron's time.

That beautiful standing athlete, in the Vatican, holding with one hand his ready disk, and with the other feeling the gathering strength in the fingers which shall hurl it, has been attributed by some to Alcamenes, and by others to an Argive master, Naukydes. But Brunn finds in it the same peculiar rhythm of parts, the one side strained and the other at rest, the same concentration of the attention on one point, and, finally, the same build of head and face, and pressure of the toes, as in the Discobolos, Marsyas, and Munich athlete. Hence, with much reason, he classes it among the works to be referred to Myron's influence.⁵⁵² Although all these creations can be only copies of the originals, which have been clouded in their clearness, still through them we are enabled to appreciate the high praise Myron received from the ancients. The material used by this master was Æginetan bronze, which was doubtless well adapted to the representation of the sinewy, sunburnt frame of the athlete, and the muscular frame of the animal with all its pulsating life.

Judging from the statements of the ancients, in which praise of the varied motion, and of the great physical life expressed, predominates, Myron was pre-eminently the master who made the outward form reflect physical life in varied and bold positions.⁵⁵³

Thus, during the first half of this century, if we follow our literary sources, Pythagoras seems to have perfected the surface and the rhythm of the statue, Myron to have ventured upon boldest positions, the charm of the situation taking possession of him, and Calamis to have combined the dawning of soul-beauty in his works, with lines of severe grace. These sculptors, then, seem to have released the form hitherto imprisoned in marble or bronze, but did not succeed in fully satisfying the higher longing for ideal thoughts. That the beautiful material form might receive its worthy occupant, it must needs look to men possessed of still greater inspiration; and these men were Pheidias and his compeers.

THE AGE OF PHEIDIAS AND OF POLYCLEITOS;

OR,

PERFECTED GREEK SCULPTURE

DURING

THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

FROM ABOUT 450 B.C. TO ABOUT 400 B.C.

CHAPTER XVII.

PHEIDIAS AND HIS WORKS.

Pheidias' Youth. — Condition of Athens. — Pheidias' Teachers. — His Early Works. — Amazon. — Statues of Athena. — Athena Promachos. — Olympic Zeus and its Sculptural Adornments. — Its Poetic Thought. — Reflexes of this Work. — Otricoli Head, etc. — Pheidias under Pericles. — Art-activity in Athens. — Change in the Times. — Athena Parthenos. — Its Vicissitudes. — Description of the Statue. — Its Shield, etc. — Its Artistic Character. — Other Statues. — Copies. — Roman Reports concerning Pheidias. — Other Works attributed to Pheidias. — His Fate.

THE course of Greek art, as it has thus far been followed, brings us to the threshold, as it were, of the highest sculptural achievements. As we enter upon their contemplation, the master who leads the way is Pheidias, son of Charmides, an Athenian by birth, as he inscribed himself on his colossal Zeus at Olympia.⁵⁵⁴ Numerous and able were his pupils and rivals, and yet it is around his sublime genius that the memories of the Golden Age of Attic art cluster.

Calculating from the events of his life, and the fact that he represented himself as a bald old man on the shield of Athena Parthenos, it is supposed that he was born about 500 B.C., this making him a few years the senior of Sophocles. When the word Marathon was sounding from the lips of every exulting Athenian, he was probably a mere lad. During the years of his approaching manhood, the vengeance of the Persians broke out afresh upon his native land. The immense army of Xerxes crossed the Hellespont, and approached on the north, while Persian galleys swarmed in Greek waters. Anguish and distress accompanied their course: Athens became 'a waste; and the Athenians were fugitives on the neighboring shores, their homes and sacred places a prey to the flames. The Persians again were driven back, but carried off many art-treasures sacred to the Athenians. Such memories could not fail to leave their impression on the young Pheidias. His pulse must have quickened with feverish anxiety when the news came, that Greek soldiery had defended to the death the Pass of Thermopylæ; and his soul must have glowed with patriotic fervor as the shouts of victory rang through the streets after the battles of Plataiai, Salamis, and Mycale. Old Athens was destroyed; but, fired with new life, she was to be made powerful and glorious for the future. Her port, the Peiraieus, was laid out as became the centre of a great naval power;

and, although the private houses were hastily thrown together for the returning fugitives, her public buildings were begun in a truly monumental spirit. With the wisdom of a far-seeing statesman, Themistocles gave all strangers, at work on Athenian buildings, immunity from taxation; and artists of all kinds flocked to the opened gates from various parts of Greece. Such, then, were the favorable circumstances under which Pheidias came to manhood. Moreover, he belonged to an artistic family. But though his father, Charmides, seems to have been an artist, the youth was put under the tutelage of Hegias. The works of this sculptor are reported to have been stiff; and we are not surprised to learn, that the fame of a far greater man, Ageladas of Argos, early attracted Pheidias, as it did Myron and Polycleitos. From this Argive master, we may believe that the young Athenian sculptor learned principles of proportion and correctness, which, grafted on his native Attic genius, were to produce works of rare richness and perfection.

In the beginning of his career, Pheidias seems to have enjoyed the patronage of Kimon, Miltiades' great son, as appears from the subject of his first work. This was an extensive bronze group of thirteen figures for Delphi, commemorative of the battle of Marathon, and representing the victor, Miltiades, among gods and mythic heroes.⁵⁵⁵ Among other works ascribed to Pheidias, which probably belonged to his youth, was a bronze Amazon, praised for the beauty of neck and mouth.⁵⁵⁶ But it is a significant fact, that Pheidias' Amazon lost the prize in competition with one by his great Argive contemporary, Polycleitos, who is known to have excelled in representing formal beauty. Through the different museums are scattered several types of Amazons; but it is impossible, in ignorance of the composition of Pheidias' original, to trace to it any one of them with certainty; although, owing to the resemblance of the drapery of the Mattei Amazon in the Vatican to that of some of the Parthenon marbles, it was once supposed to represent the class which most nearly approaches the work by Pheidias.^{556a}

It was, probably, during this earlier part of his artistic career, that Pheidias executed three statues of the goddess Athena, of which the one completed first was a gold and ivory statue for Pellene in the Peloponnesos.⁵⁵⁷ For Plataiai, the decisive battle-field of the Persian war, he executed a colossal acrolith Athena in wood, with face, hands, and feet of Pentelic marble, and drapery of gold.⁵⁵⁸ For this "warlike Athena," the *Areia*, as she was called, with her temple, adorned by Polygnotos with paintings, the patriotic little city expended no less than eighty talents (\$194,000), its share of the booty after the battle. The third of these statues of Athena, like the one in Plataiai, was commemorative of the victories over the Persians, and must have formed, through all antiquity, one of the most prominent objects on the Athenian Acropolis, as it towered up by the great temple of the goddess.⁵⁵⁹ It was a bronze colossus, now often falsely called *Promachos*. Pausanias' poetical

description of it, as overlooking the blue waters of the sea, so that Athenian sailors, off Cape Sunion, could see the point of Athena's lance and her crested helm glistening in the sunlight, has been shown by Michaelis to be an exaggeration; and the supposed pedestal has been proved to belong to some other monument.⁵⁶⁰ Of the composition of this colossus, we have no means of forming a definite idea; the coins, bearing an effigy which might refer to it, differing greatly. Sometimes the goddess on these has her shield raised high on the left arm, and sometimes lowered to the ground, with the arm dropped. The shield, being unfinished by Pheidias, was chiselled later with scenes from the combats of the centaurs and Lapithæ by Mys, after designs by Parrhasios, the celebrated Ephesian painter. The only reference to this statue in later times is that made by Zosimos, according to which, as late as 395 A.D., if the usual reading of his text be correct, the figure still towered above the city, striking terror into the hearts of the conquering Alaric and his hordes.⁵⁶¹ But the celebrated colossus finally disappeared from sight in the black night which settled upon Athens soon after the invasions of the Goths.

Pheidias' ripest powers were not, however, to be exercised first in Athens. According to Loeschcke's satisfactory investigations, he was called to Elis, about Olymp. 80, to erect in the new temple there a statue of the great Zeus.⁵⁶² This new view of Pheidias' life, making the Zeus at Olympia precede his Athena for the Parthenon at Athens, is shown to be in harmony with the statements of Pausanias, and places the execution of the Zeus immediately after the completion of its temple at Olympia, which we know from the excavations was Olymp. 80. From this time Pheidias was probably engaged at Olympia during three Olympiads, whereupon he returned to Athens; his activity in his native city being attested to by the works he was there called to execute: the date, Olymp. 83, after he had completed the Zeus, is, moreover, given by Pliny as his prime.⁵⁶³

To the quiet vale of Olympia, then, the master repaired soon after 460 B.C., accompanied by his kinsman (the painter Panainos), and some of his scholars. Near the holy grove a workshop, seen afterwards by Pausanias, was built, and in its centre an altar to the twelve great gods, invoked by the artists when they commenced their various work.⁵⁶⁴ The god to be represented was not the ruler of a single state, but of all Greece,—the Olympian Zeus, "whose power," as Homeric poetry says, "surpasses all the power of gods and men." For its execution costly materials were placed at Pheidias' disposal,—gold, ivory, silver, gems, bronze, and choice woods,—making the work most complicated in its construction. A genius for grand composition was required for conceiving the whole, an architect's skill in building up the colossal wooden framework, the carver's subtle fancy and fingers to give form to the delicate ivory, and a metal-worker's knowledge in dealing with the broad masses or elaborate finish of the gold-work. The wooden frame was supported by in-

served iron stays, and incrustated with thin sheets of ivory, made pliable by fire, and then modelled and fitted together with consummate skill; the creamy color and texture well representing the natural skin.⁵⁶⁵ Appurtenances of drapery, weapons and hair, were of massive gold, or of silver gilded, and the eyes of lambent gems; all these materials making up the fabric of the *chryselephantine colossi* of the gods, which were the masterpieces of the Pheidian age, but were seldom executed in the following century. Pheidias represented the god as seated on an imposing throne, which rested on a low pedestal, measuring 6.50 by 9.50 meters, as the excavations have shown, and standing out some distance from the rear of the *cella*.⁵⁶⁶ The uncovered space in front of the statue, from which it received light, was divided off by a partition, extending part of the way between the pillars, and may have been the portion of the work painted by Panainos.⁵⁶⁷



Fig. 141. Coin of Elia representing the Olympic Zeus by Pheidias.

The *altis* being damp, oil was used to prevent the decay of the wood and ivory of the statue; and the channels by which oil and water were carried off have now been discovered. But even with such precautions, and the care with which the descendants of Pheidias watched over the statue, about sixty years after its completion cracks appeared in the ivory, rendering repairs necessary, which were made by Damophon of Messene. Still later, two of its ponderous golden locks were stolen.⁵⁶⁸ In Cæsar's time, the statue was struck by lightning. Caligula, seized with a desire to remove it to Rome, and to supplant the head by a portrait of himself, was prevented from carrying out his impious design, as was popularly believed, by miracles.⁵⁶⁹ The workmen put hands to the statue to remove it; but, according to Suetonius, a tremendous peal of scornful laughter burst from its otherwise silent lips, and put them to flight, fearful and trembling; while, at the same time, a thunder-bolt consumed the ship which was waiting to receive the sacred form. The statue occupied its temple until the time of Theodosius II., about 408 A.D., when the celebration of the Olympic games ceased, and the temple fell a prey to the flames. The statue, doubtless, either perished in that fire, or in the devastations of the Goths, who shortly after swept over the Peloponnesos.

The most faithful representation of this Pheidian work is probably to be found on a small coin of Hadrian's time (Fig. 141). According to the ancients, the seated colossus towered up so that it awakened the feeling that for such a god no temple made by man could suffice.⁵⁷⁰ Peacefully enthroned, he held in one hand the sceptre crowned with his eagle, and glittering with precious metal. On the other hand, which rested on the arm of his seat, Nike appeared

bearing a fillet (*tania*). If we may believe the testimony of coins, the older Zeus of Olympia and Arcadia was also conceived as seated, but held in the outstretched hand his eagle. In all probability, the significant idea of letting the bringer of victory rest on the god's hand was a beautiful innovation made by Pheidias on this older scheme.^{570a} The nude parts of the master's great Zeus were of fine ivory: a golden mantle fell over the left shoulder and arm, and lay in folds over the legs. It was studded with lilies and small figures in enamel. Sandals, likewise of gold, shod the feet: an olive-wreath, symbolical, perhaps, of the Olympic prize, rested on the golden locks, as if to suggest the thought, "With thee, our god, is the fulness of victory." The sceptre was not menacingly raised, but held so as least to obstruct the view of the benignant head.

Not the statue alone was sublime in form and thought: seat, footstool, and pedestal were a world of art in themselves, and replete with sacred import to the Greeks. The throne was massive in its build, as suited the immovable seat of the great god: sculpture and painting beautified it with significant forms. Spaces in front of the throne were colored blue, thus, it may be, setting off the feet and golden drapery against a darker background; while the three sides, probably, of the partition around it, were adorned with paintings by Panainos representing mythic scenes. On each side of the feet were four single figures, illustrative of the different sacred games usual in Elis. One of these figures had disappeared by Pausanias' time. One represented a Diadumenos, — a youth winding about his head a fillet of victory. This statue, according to ancient report, purported to be that of the boy Pantarkes, said to have been a favorite of Pheidias, and successful competitor in 432 B.C. But there is every reason to believe that this was a late scandal. It is more likely, that Pantarkes in reality lived at a much later date, and having chosen as the motive for a statue of himself this Diadumenos, which he saw on the throne of the great Zeus, nothing would have been easier for a gossip-loving age than subsequently to bring the later and the earlier work together in time, and date Pantarkes' statue from the age of Pheidias.⁵⁷¹

Around the other sides of the seat were twenty-nine figures, representing the mythic combats of the Greeks, under Heracles and Theseus, with the turbulent Amazons; besides, the goddess of victory, Nike, appeared repeatedly, to pass on, as it were, the hymn of praise around the seat of the Almighty, and corresponding, perhaps, in thought, to the angel-choirs about the God-Father in Christian art. Higher up on the throne came reliefs representing Niobe's family, — symbols of the punishment which follows pride. Sphinxes, each holding a youth in her relentless grasp, supported the arms of the throne. Besides such sculptures calculated to inspire fear, there were others indicating the benignity of the god. His "welcome daughters," the "Three Hours," who, in Homeric words, "bring to mortals the day of reward," as well as the three

joyous Graces, crowned the back of the throne. The footstool supporting the feet rested on lions, and was enriched with representations of the combat between Theseus and the Amazons. The whole rested on a low pedestal, which discoveries show to have been of stone, incrusting with metal plates. On these appeared the seventeen figures, seen by Pausanias, representing the birth of Aphrodite, goddess of love, as she arose from the sea, and was welcomed by the gods of Olympus. The chariot of Helios, the sun-god, at one end of the composition, was seen emerging from the ocean, while Selene's car of the night was descending into the deep at the opposite end. These are noteworthy; since the same ideas were repeated in Pheidias' representation of Athena's birth, in the sunrise pediment of the Parthenon.

How sublime seems this conception of the supreme deity of Greece, when compared with older ideals of the god! Judging from archaic sculptures and vase-paintings, the character of Zeus had been expressed by putting in his hands the winged lightnings, which should strike terror into the hearts of offenders. But Pheidias seems to have caught a diviner spirit in his sacred Homeric poet; for, when asked what pattern he intended to follow, he quoted that passage in which the Mighty One, complying with the pleading of a mother for her son, is said to have given —

"The nod with his dark brows.
The ambrosial curls upon the sovereign one's immortal head
Were shaken, and with them the mighty Mount Olympus trembled." 572

Thus Pheidias' conception of his god united that mildness which listens to a mother's prayer, with the power which makes the mighty dwelling of the immortals quake. It is related that Pheidias, upon the completion of the statue, humbly prayed the unseen Zeus to grant some sign of his favorable recognition, when suddenly a thunderbolt flashed from the high heaven through the open roof, and struck the temple-floor. Antiquity marked the spot by an urn placed in the pavement; and a curious rent still exists, recalling the memorable story.



Fig. 142. Coin of Elis, with the Head of the Olympic Zeus by Pheidias.

Gladly would we search the galleries of existing sculptures, or ponder over coins, to find a clearer reflex of this great Zeus. One beautiful Elis coin, from Hadrian's time, is thought to give the most faithful hint of the benignant head (Fig. 142).⁵⁷³ Here the hair rolls gently up from the forehead, and falls in easy, quiet masses under a wreath. In the broad, serene brow, strong eyebrows, firm but gentle mouth, power seems coupled with unspeakable mildness. Sculp-

tures, however, that may suggest the Zeus of Pheidias, are marked by an elaborate exaggeration, altogether unlike the simple truthfulness of the Parthenon marbles, those authentic works of the Pheidian school. In the latter the outlines are quiet, the passages between the muscles gentle, and there is nothing extreme in their treatment. On the other hand, the famous Roman Otricoli head (Fig. 143),⁵⁷⁴ long considered the best copy of Pheidias' Zeus, is painfully unquiet in detail, especially about forehead and eyebrows, where ex-



Fig. 143. Head of Zeus found at Otricoli. Vatican.

cessive elevations and furrows altogether destroy the grand and simple effect which characterizes the lifelike masses of the Parthenon marbles. The head of Pheidias' statue, as belonging to that age when fullest, freest forms had not yet been developed, must, we imagine, have had a certain severity about it; but such was its grandeur, that a host of ancient writers unite in its unbounded praise. One of these writes, "Pheidias alone has seen likenesses of the gods, or he alone has made them visible;"⁵⁷⁵ another, "No one who has seen Pheidias' Zeus can imagine any other semblance of the god."⁵⁷⁶ Still another devoutly says, "To reveal his likeness to thee, Zeus came down to earth; or thou thyself, Pheidias, didst go to see the god."⁵⁷⁷ He was considered an un-

happy mortal who had never looked upon Pheidias' Zeus; and Lucian, the fine-art critic, was so impressed by it, that he wrote, "Those who enter the temple no longer think that they see ivory from the Indus, or beaten gold from Thrace, but the son of Cronos and Rhea, transferred to earth by Pheidias." ⁵⁷⁸ Quintilian declares, that "the Athena Parthenos and Olympian Zeus added new power to the established faith, so nearly did the grandeur of the work equal the divinity of the god." ⁵⁷⁹ Cicero says, "The great artist, when he was moulding his Jupiter or Minerva, was not looking at any form for these deities of which he might make a copy; but there dwelt in his mind a certain kind of surpassing beauty, the sight and intense contemplation of which directed his art and hand to produce a similitude." ⁵⁸⁰ Even Paulus Æmilius, the stern Roman soldier, was overcome by its sight, when on his conquering march he came to Olympia. ⁵⁸¹ He entered the temple glorying in the Capitoline Jupiter, whose earthly dwelling was on one of the seven hills of Rome, but came out subdued, and ordered richer sacrifices than were customary to be made to the god of the conquered people, saying that "Pheidias alone had formed the Zeus of Homer." More beautifully than all others did Dio Chrysostom express the devotion awakened, saying, "Were any one so heavily burdened with cares, and afflicted with sorrows, that even sweet sleep would not refresh him, standing before thy statue he would, I firmly believe, forget all that was fearful and crushing in life, so wondrously hast thou, O Pheidias! conceived and completed thy work, such heavenly light and grace is in thy art." ⁵⁸²

Having completed this great statue, the master must have returned to Athens, where his powers were to be spent in the friendship and service of the great Pericles. The old temples and many sacred semblances had perished in the fires of the Persian invasion. Long years had elapsed; and, though Themistocles and Kimon had commenced the work of restoration, many temples lay still in ruins, and many vows remained unfulfilled. It was to rebuild and repopulate these temples, that the powers of Pheidias were now called into play. But for their full exercise was needed the patronage of a Pericles, guiding the helm of state. As the Greeks had united against the barbarians, so Pericles believed that they should unitedly celebrate their triumph; and he therefore sent ambassadors — veterans from the Persian war — to invite delegates to Athens for the purpose of deliberating upon the restoration of the national sanctuaries. Jealousy of Athens causing the failure of this great scheme, Attica concentrated her energies upon rebuilding her own capital and wasted temples. The wealth of the citizens was not to be devoted to private luxury, but to the public weal, and the honoring of the gods. To the same objects was extensively applied the Persian booty, — a treasure so great that the frugal Greeks marvelled how the Oriental monarch could have desired their barren, rugged land. The silver-mines of Laurion, and especially the annual tribute from a thousand Greek towns and cities, paid into the national treasury as a return for Athenian

protection, constituted still other sources of revenue. This treasure, kept, up to about 454 B.C., in Apollo's sanctuary on the quiet island of Delos, was then removed to Athens, — a change which, it is thought, was brought about by Pericles, one of whose favorite maxims it was, that Athens' political pre-eminence depended upon abundant revenues. The city, now prosperous and wealthy, must have been more than ever the centre of attraction to artists, for whose works abundant material was provided. Costly woods and ivory were brought from the far East. The imported Parian marble used by earlier sculptors was now supplanted by a golden-toned, but cheaper sort, from the neighboring Pentelicos. In a few years there arose temples, theatres, and other public buildings, with richly sculptured decorations, and sheltering statues of sacred import and new beauty. Cape Sunion, the sailors' shrine, was graced with a temple to Athena; and its columns, some of which still stand, were visible far off at sea. A theatre also adorned the sloping shores, where the people gathered to watch competitive naval sports. In quiet Rhamnus, near Marathon, a new temple was built to Nemesis. At Eleusis a costly one, capable of holding an immense gathering, was completed. The Peiraieus, originally abounding in narrow, crooked lanes, was rebuilt by the Ionian Hippodamos, its harbors greatly improved, and a temple to Aphrodite erected on the shores. Athens itself was beautified by buildings of world-wide fame, such as the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, the Propylaia, the Gymnasion with its marble colonnades, and the spacious Odeion for musical purposes. Immense treasure was spent upon these costly edifices and their decoration. The golden drapery of one statue alone weighed forty-four talents (fifty-three thousand dollars): the Propylaia cost the art-loving Athenians two thousand and twelve talents (two million dollars), or twice the income of Attica a few decades later. Even had the marvels of architecture and sculpture studding Attic soil utterly perished, these sums alone would bear witness to the religious spirit and the munificence in art-matters of the Athenian state during this time of her glory. The brilliant pontificates of Leo X. and Julius II., when Raphael and Michel Angelo adorned Rome, and artists flocked to the Eternal City, pale before these golden but fleeting years.

But the impulse which the intellectual and æsthetic spirit of the nation had received made it impossible servilely to replace the ancient forms. The proud triumphs over a well-nigh irresistible foe, and the close contact with the culture of Ionia and other lands, had stimulated the Athenian people to a life which could not turn quietly back into the old channels. Progressive ideas, although looked upon with jealous, doubtful eye by the old and conservative party, the warriors of Marathon, found favor in the city. The great Anaxagoras from Ionia, Diogenes from Apollonia, and Hippodamos, philosopher as well as architect, with extreme views of reform, were welcome guests in the houses of the rich. The unquestioning spirit of the past was giving place to a restless

inquiry ; and, while the masses still clung to the old dogmas, the leading minds had risen above them, and caught glimpses of higher ethical truths. Pericles, for one, shared in the change ; and, from the character of Pheidias' works, we must believe that he also felt its influence : and although the sacred wooden idol of Athena, a time-honored relic which had been worshipped for ages, could not, indeed, be changed, other statues might be produced, which by nobler forms, expressing higher ideals, should attune the souls of men to truer devotion. All this artistic activity was guided, Plutarch tells us, by Pheidias, to whose ruling genius men of celebrity, architects, sculptors, and painters, gladly yielded. Moreover, to him was intrusted the highest mission which Attica could offer : this was to erect a statue of the virgin goddess of Athens, Athena Parthenos, to be set up in her new and glorious shrine, the Parthenon, raised on the wasted site of an older temple. For this purpose, the same costly materials—gold, ivory, silver, gems, and rare woods—used in the execution of the Zeus were put at his disposal. The rich materials of this statue are abundantly borne witness to by an inscription recently found on the Acropolis.⁵⁸³

The statue of Athena was six times the height of a man, over 11.59 meters (thirty-eight feet), and must have filled the beholder with an overpowering sense of its presence, as it stood in the holy place (*cella*), which was less than 19.82 meters (sixty-five feet) high, and but little over 30.50 meters (one hundred feet) long. The air of the Acropolis being dry, water was applied to the statue to prevent shrinkage in the wooden framework, and consequent displacement of the ivory incrustations. In 437 B.C. this golden colossus stood complete in its sanctuary ; but, notwithstanding the precautions taken, as early as 397 B.C. it needed to be repaired.⁵⁸⁴ A few decades later (Olymp. 120, 297 B.C.) the statue was despoiled of its golden *ægis*, and of all its movable drapery, by the impious hand of the tyrant Lachares. Being obliged, however, to flee before his enemy, disguised as a peasant, he probably took away only what he could carry about his person, leaving the bulk of his booty behind him, since several centuries later Pausanias saw the statue still fully clad in gold.⁵⁸⁵ In 375 A.D. it was still in Athens, and is reported—with little probability, however—to have been in Constantinople as late as the tenth century A.D.⁵⁸⁶ Whatever its fate may have been, with its disappearance a priceless treasure of art was lost ; and we ask, is there nothing which can bring before us the form in which Pheidias represented the great goddess of his people ? With regret comes the answer, that only in a few feeble copies can we recognize a correspondence to the descriptions of Pausanias, Pliny, and others. Of these copies and variations on the great work, thirteen in statuary are scattered through the museums of Athens, Rome, Turin, Madrid, and the Louvre ; while still others are constantly coming to view.⁵⁸⁷ One was recently discovered at Pergamon ; but by far the most complete copy of the Athena by Phei-



Fig. 144. Statuette of Athena Parthenos. Athens.

dias was brought to light during the reparation of a street in Athens in 1880 (Fig. 144). This marble statuette, found in what was doubtless the chapel (*sacrarium*) of a private dwelling, may have been an object of worship to some

pious Athenian of later days, who, for his family shrine, had the great original by Pheidias copied.⁵⁸⁸ This little figure, executed with all the punctilious finish characterizing statues of Roman times, is not a meter high (three feet); and yet its proportions are precisely those of the great statue, as given by Pausanias, and produce the impression of great size. Moreover, that it was thus exactly reduced from that larger statue, and by mechanical means, is evident from the points (*puntelli*) on the back of the figure.

Connecting the appearance of this statuette with Pausanias' description of the golden colossus, it appears that Pheidias represented the goddess as standing quietly erect, and wearing garments simple in form, and made of gold. A long, flowing robe, the *chiton*, dropped to the feet, and, where open on the right side, was graceful in detail, though recalling the regular zigzag folds of earlier art. The length of the *chiton* was broken by a shorter garment, the *diploidion*, falling over it, and girt at the waist. But these perpendicular folds, regular hollows, sharply bent and under-cut edges, as well as loosely hanging bobs, are so harsh in the statuette, that doubts may arise as to their beauty, even in the drapery of the Pheidian original. It should be remembered, however, that that was not in marble, but in metal; and the malleable properties of gold would lend themselves gracefully to a treatment which would be thoroughly harsh and unpleasant when applied to unbending, ponderous stone. The effects of gold bent at will into broad or small folds, and of ivory, laid over wood, shaped easily by the turner's wheel, must have been altogether unlike those to which marble consents. Hence, doubtless, the misleading and disappointing impression given by many copies of ancient statues. Besides, what would be beautifully elaborate in these brilliant materials would offend in dull marble. The mere money value of gold, and its sheen, may indeed suffice to satisfy a lower taste; but when its dazzling lights have been toned down, and its rich color combined with beautiful form, then, whether in the tiny jewel or chryselephantine colossus, it will meet the highest demands. It was, doubtless, not the mere following of traditional custom, but to break these disturbing lights, that the finish of a chryselephantine statue was so elaborate, the drapery enamelled, necklace, ear-rings, and bracelets added, and all accessories, as helmet, sceptre, or shield, covered with marks of the goldsmith's skill. Could we, then, imagine the folds of this marble statuette as of gold, their surfaces broken by smaller ones neutralizing the disturbing reflexes of the shining metal, and then translate the whole into colossal forms to be viewed, not in the full blaze of the sun, but in the mellowed temple-light falling from above, we should realize that the grandeur of the drapery was worthy of the dignity of the goddess. How imposing, moreover, must have been the effect of this style of drapery in large proportions, may be inferred to-day from the colossal copy of the Parthenos found at Pergamon, and now set up in the Berlin Museum on what seems its ancient pedestal. Here there is a grandeur in the deep shadows and regular

lines of the drapery, as the light falls upon them, not to be met with in other and smaller *replicas*.

The Athenian statuette reminds us also that Pheidias' colossal golden Athena wore the *ægis*, her ancient weapon, with its circling border of serpents; but it is no longer the enveloping armor of the warrior-goddess of old, falling down her back well-nigh to her feet, and over her arms, as seen on black-figured vases, or in archaic statues like the Æginetan Athena. Reduced in size, the *ægis* is here simply a broad but graceful collar, falling over the bosom and shoulders, and more becoming to the peace-bestowing character which Pheidias seems to have divined in his Attic deity. The Gorgon head in the centre of the *ægis* of the statuette has also felt the master's touch, giving it a place between the repulsive creations of earlier times, as seen in the metope of Selinus (Fig. 111), and the beautiful faces of later times, such as the Rondanini Medusa, now in Munich. Although the grinning jaws of the older Medusa are here closed, and the disgusting tongue drawn in, yet the lips are still thick, and the nose broad and flat. That terror which the earlier artist sought to inspire by exaggeration amounting to caricature, is here expressed by the furrowed brow, knitted eyebrows, and a homely, materialistic face, which, on the other hand, is utterly void of the ideal and tragic conception given this Gorgon in later times.

Resting on the maidenly locks of Pheidias' Athena, appeared the close-fitting, plumed Attic helmet, 1.45 meter (nearly five feet) high, its laps raised, and crest so lofty, judging from the statuette, as to seem top-heavy, and even awkward. But here also we must not forget the peculiar material, and the position the helmet occupied raised so high above the eye of the beholder as to be subject to the effects of perspective. A sphinx crouched on its summit, forming a standard for its feathery crest, and having a sacred meaning, as Pausanias tells us. On the sides of the helmet hovered winged Pegasi, emblematical, perhaps, of the wild power in nature tamed by Athena. Griffins seem to have decorated the cheek-pieces of the helmet; and across its visor, according to Attic *tetradrachms*, appeared still other decoration; sometimes these coins have horses' heads, and as often owls.⁵⁸⁹ Bracelets, which pleasantly enlivened the creamy surface of the arm, clasped the wrist in graceful coils. Ear-rings and necklace, doubtless, added their finish to the golden colossus; for they may be seen in copies on gems and coins, although wisely omitted in most marble copies. Upon Athena's outstretched hand, as upon that of the master's Zeus, a small figure, the winged goddess Nike, or Victory, appeared; and her position, as preserved in the statuette, shows the great thoughts which Pheidias expressed, while holding to the traditional forms, in retaining the attribute on the goddess's hand, and the column supporting it. As, in Pheidias' original, this Victory of gold was six feet high, and weighed more than four hundred pounds, we can easily understand, with Lange, how difficult it would have been for the extended arm of the colossus to hold such a weight

without a substantial support like the column, which was 5.15 meters in height (nearly 17 feet). Early coins, moreover, seem to show that such columns were common under the extended arms of very ancient idols. In these earlier works, the column or support gives the impression of an arbitrary addition; while in later art it is intimately associated with the figure, so as to seem an integral part of the composition. Here, also, Pheidias takes a place midway between the old and the new. Although retaining the traditional pillar as such, he has so worked it into the composition, that without it the effect would be one-sided: an unpleasant vacant space is thus filled at Athena's right hand. How Victory with her golden wreath alighted on Athena's hand in Pheidias' golden colossus has been much discussed, but this statuette solves the problem. Nike, the victory-bearer, could not bring triumph to the goddess, in whom dwells the fullness of victory; nor yet does she turn her back to the divinity, but flies obliquely towards the devout worshipper, whom, in imagination, we see at her feet, awaiting his crown. Nike, thus bringing the reward, forms a beautiful link between the great goddess looking off into infinity, all sufficient in herself, and the dependent, suppliant mortal at her feet. Athena's lance, which does not appear in the marble statuette, as well as her massive shield, were lowered; the latter, according to recently discovered inscriptions, having been of silver, gilded. Under it coiled her serpent, doubtless symbolical of the earth-born people of Athens finding protection at the feet of their goddess. Scenes taking place on the steep declivities of the Areopagus at Athens, and representing combats between mythic Greek heroes and turbulent Amazons, those enemies of law and order, decorated the outer surface of the shield. Among these, Pheidias, as Plutarch tells us, represented himself as a bald-headed old man, hurling a stone; and Pericles, in full armor, swinging a spear so as to conceal the middle of his face.⁵⁹⁰ The shield of Pheidias was repeatedly copied in antiquity, the best preserved imitation being a marble relief in the Elgin room (Fig. 145). On its rudely executed surface we can make out the portraits of Pheidias and Pericles, corresponding to this description. In earlier art we have seen that the stereotyped decoration of shields was composed of concentric rows; but here the figures of warriors and Amazons are scattered about the Gorgon head in the centre, as if in the confusion of battle. The inner side of the shield was also adorned with significant relief, representing the combats of gods with rebellious and heaven-daring giants, in which, according to myth, Athena bore an important part, receiving from her father Zeus the glittering *ægis* as her reward. But how Pheidias conceived this composition on the shield against which the serpent must have rested, we do not know. Still other mythic combats between Greek heroes and wild centaurs adorned the high sandals worn by the colossus, but which, of course, do not appear on the minute reproductions preserved to us. Around the low pedestal was represented the creation of Pandora, the Eve of the Greeks. She was formed, according to myth,

in the presence of twenty gods, out of moist clay, by Hephaistos, who gave her a human voice, and the stature and face of the immortal goddesses. Aphrodite threw grace and loveliness about her head. Hermes gave her a modest bearing and quiet spirit. The Hours and Graces girded her with a golden belt, and decked her with flowers, making her a charm for gods and men. Athena taught her skill of hand and cunning workmanship, — the traditional source of the skill and taste of Athenian women. Of this scene and its figures, only the rudest possible trace remains in a tiny marble copy of the Parthenos found



Fig. 145. Copy of the Outside of the Shield of Athena Parthenos. British Museum.

on the so-called Pnyx, and of which casts may be seen in nearly every museum : it is possible that a part of this scene is also represented in the graceful figures on the pedestal of the Pergamon colossus in Berlin.

The impression which we receive concerning the great original by Pheidias is, that it must have combined richness of significant detail with a grand simplicity, bordering on severity, in the composition. The massive breadth of the shoulders, length of the torso, and narrowness of the hips, are in strong contrast to the lithe and swelling curves of later times, as seen, for instance, in the Athena on the Great Pergamon Altar (Selections, Plate XV.). But the goddess does not, as in older figures, stand firmly on both feet ; for the left leg is bent. This unfreighted leg is not, however, drawn easily back, but simply to

the side, assuming a pose difficult to maintain, as experiment will prove. Moreover, the poise of the trunk is not made to harmonize with this concentration of weight on one leg; the shoulders being on a level, instead of naturally following the bend of the knee. Severity also appears in the pose of the head, which, although not painfully erect, as in older works, does not bend, as in later ones. In these archaic traits of his temple-statue, Pheidias seems still to have been influenced by tradition. And yet, in its standing position, it seems an advance on the seated pose of his Zeus. So great is the contrast of this Athena to the dramatic, tempestuous compositions of the Parthenon pediments, that we are tempted to believe that the study for it was made at an earlier period,—perhaps when the building of its temple was begun, about 447 B.C. The sculptural decoration of the pediments would naturally be undertaken later, as the building advanced, when the master had grown into that marvellous freedom evident in every line of the Parthenon groups. That, however, so emphatically a religious work of art should have retained the old traditional type, and have been represented as standing still in imposing quiet while receiving the offerings and prayers of worshippers, seems most appropriate; besides, its very size would have rendered excited motion out of place, especially within the temple. But, in order fully to realize the master's wisdom and taste, we must call to mind again the setting of imposing columns, by which his colossus was immediately surrounded on three sides; the incorrectness of the old plans of the interior, which made the statue stand in a niche, having been shown by Dörpfeld's admirable investigations (see p. 229). This arrangement of the columns around the statue was thus richer than in the older temple at Olympia, where the rear row was omitted. As at Olympia, however, the golden colossus was set out some distance into the enclosure; the pedestal having been 4.17 meters in front of the rear colonnade, but approaching nearer the columns at the side. The statue, lighted by the opening in the roof, stood resplendent with color, and abounding in costly decorations: we would fain recall its surfaces in agreeable contrast to the darker, deep-red background, and its gently varying outlines, set off by the regular fluted forms of the columns occurring at intervals about it. Directly in front of this beautifully placed image of the goddess was, as at Olympia, a space partitioned off, where, in all probability, stood the altar for sacrifice.

In Pheidias' conception of the goddess, we have a worthy exemplification of the artistic tendencies of his sublime age. Athena is no longer the fierce warrior of olden times, brandishing her lance, or raising her shield, as on archaic vases and reliefs; but she blesses her people in peace. The barbarian being vanquished, her implements of war are lowered. Victory flies from her hand, freighted with good things; and the serpent, symbolical of the people, finds shelter at her feet. The whole statue, even to the remotest details, seems to sound a hymn of praise to the Athenian deity for the triumph of right over

wrong. From this time on, we find that Pheidias' supremely humane conception of his goddess supplanted the older, more vengeful one: Attic reliefs, after his time, always represent the goddess in an attitude of peace, following the lines of his colossus.⁵⁹¹

Seven times, we learn, did Pheidias, during his long career, represent the great goddess Athena, — twice in statues of gold and ivory; once for Athens in the statue just described; once in earlier days, for Pellene (p. 300); and three times in bronze. These latter were the Promachos of his youth; the Athena on the Acropolis, for the people of Lemnos, probably executed about the time of the Parthenos; and one taken to Rome by Paulus Æmilius, and consecrated in the Temple of Fortuna.⁵⁹² Pheidias' other statues of the goddess were the acrolith of wood, marble, and gold, for Plataiai, above described, besides a statue in rivalry with Alcamenes, as to the material of which we are not informed.⁵⁹³ It is said that the Athenians, wishing to erect two statues of Athena in a high place, ordered them of Pheidias and Alcamenes. Upon their completion, the people at first united in giving the preference to that by Alcamenes, disapproving of the widely opened lips and distended nostrils of Pheidias' work. But when the statues were raised above the level of the eye, upon their pedestals, opinion suddenly changed in favor of Pheidias' Athena, which now appeared more correct than that of his rival, — an impression due, no doubt, to a regard for the laws of perspective and optical effect.

It would be a delightful task to trace with assurance these great originals in the different types of Athena found in our museums. Of the large Athena statues, many are marked by such dignity, combined with maiden-like grace, that it would seem as though Pheidias' great originals had left their abiding impress on the works of his successors. Of existing Athena statues, none is more majestic than a colossal statue in Pentelic marble, now in the École des Beaux Arts at Paris, but originally among the marbles in the Villa Medici in Rome, and, consequently, popularly called the Minerva Medici (Selections, Plate II.). Here we see massive shoulders and a firm build, like that of the Parthenos; here the same arrangement of the *ægis*; while the drapery differs, being richer in certain details as it falls over the bent right leg. Unfortunately, the head and both arms are wanting; but the quiet attitude, the grand and simple lines of the form, and exquisite rendering of the drapery, as well as its undulating border, mark it as a great Greek original of the Pheidian age, very near of kin to the Parthenon marbles. The contrast between the drapery of this great figure, combining strength with grace, and the more pictorial and lax character of Philis' garments, represented in the same plate, is well brought out by such juxtaposition, and beautifully shows how different the methods pursued in statuary and in relief, in widely separated parts of the ancient world.

Futile were the endeavor to trace back to Pheidias' varied originals, as we

are tempted to do, many of the later statues, such as the Minerva Giustiniani in the Vatican, executed in Roman times, when the style and spirit of art were diametrically opposed to the severe and unpretending simplicity and grace of the Pheidian age in Athens.

Of the goddess Aphrodite, Pheidias executed three statues. One, an Aphrodite Urania, in gold and ivory, was in Elis, and rested her foot on a turtle, the symbol of woman's domestic seclusion.⁵⁹⁴ Of the two others, we only know that an Aphrodite Urania, in Parian marble, stood in Athens, not far from the Kerameikos; and that another, in marble, said to have been of great beauty, was taken to Rome.⁵⁹⁵ Of the gods besides Zeus, Pheidias is known to have represented Apollo in a bronze, as the warder-off of locusts (*Parnopios*), which was on the Acropolis; as well as a Hermes in marble, at the entrance of a temple in Thebes, and, consequently, called Pronaos.⁵⁹⁶

These creations of Pheidias, with the exception of the Miltiades of the Delphic group, all of them belong to the realms of religion and myth. One statue of a priestess with a temple-key (*cleiduchos*), and one of a bronze athlete (not Pantarkes) at Olympia, putting on the fillet of victory, are the only subjects we know of from a sphere nearer life.⁵⁹⁷

In Roman times many other works were attributed to him, just as at present pictures are fictitiously ascribed to such masters as Raphael, Titian, Michel Angelo, or Correggio. Among the works thus falsely ascribed to Pheidias, is one of the Horse-tamers, on the Monte Cavallo in Rome, from Constantine's time, or even later, but bearing on its pedestal the inscription, *Opus Phidiæ*. Its general character, and the style of the armor, mark it as a Roman work, based, doubtless, on some Greek original.⁵⁹⁸

Pheidias, like other ancient masters, is reputed to have been skilful also in enchasing works of minute size, among which are mentioned, but with how much truth is uncertain, a bee and a fly. Pliny ascribes to him skill in painting.⁵⁹⁹ The great variety of Pheidias' subjects and technique must lead to an exalted opinion of the versatility of his powers. Thus, a master in miniature chasing, he also executed colossal chryselephantine statues, in themselves architectural achievements: he cast in bronze, carved in marble, and worked in wood, ivory, and gold. The latter materials seem to have been his preference, as better adapted to express his subjects, which were not the skilled athletes of Myron and Pythagoras, nor the fleet steeds, and forms of delicate feminine grace, in which Calamis excelled. His themes were, as we have seen, the gods themselves, and these not the minor gentler deities of Olympos, but Zeus and Athena, the sublimest ideals of the Greek religion. He placed in the temples of the Greeks higher conceptions of their supreme gods than had ever before met the gaze of the devout, being thus an ideal sculptor in the loftiest sense.⁶⁰⁰

But Pheidias must only too soon have suffered the penalty of his friendship to Pericles, whose enemies were gaining in power. Immediately upon the dedi-

cation of his great Parthenos, 438 B.C., scandalous reports were spread about his private life. Menon, one of his assistants, placed himself in the marketplace, and with olive-branch in hand, as was customary in bringing charges against those in power, begged for protection while inveighing against his master. This being granted by the fickle people, he charged Pheidias with having appropriated to his private use some of the gold intrusted to him for the drapery of his statue, the Athena Parthenos. Fortunately, this had been so constructed, in accordance with Pericles' advice, that it could be removed and weighed.^{600a} This being done, the gold was found intact, and Pheidias' innocence proved. But this was not sufficient: it had been discovered, that, on the goddess's shield, Pheidias had dared to portray himself and Pericles. Even the influence of the latter could no longer save the master from the charges of blasphemy which were now brought against him. The people demanded his arrest, as of one dangerous to the state; and Pheidias, who had done, perhaps, more for the glory of Athens than any other citizen, was led as a criminal to prison, while his lying enemy, Menon, received distinction and favor. It is said, that, before the completion of the trial, Pheidias breathed his last within those dungeon-walls, the victim either of grief and age, or of poison. Another story, that he fled from Athens to Elis, and there executed the statue of Zeus, but, suffering similar charges, was finally put to death, has been shown, by Loeschke and Curtius, to be utterly without foundation, and to have arisen from a confusion of facts.^{600b} There can be no doubt, then, that towards the close of the century, when party strife and bitter contention filled Athens and threatened the land, Pheidias fell before the political enemies of his great friend and patron Pericles. But, in spite of his country's ingratitude, later ages have done him the honor which was his due; holding, that had Greece produced but one great man, and that Pheidias, it would have fulfilled a worthy mission: and the preservation of his last great creation, the Parthenon marbles, and the reverential honor they receive, seem just, although tardy, amends for his bitter and undeserved fate.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SCHOLARS AND CONTEMPORARIES OF PHEIDIAS AND OF MYRON.

Agoracritos. — Colotes. — Theocosmos. — Thrasymedes. — Alcámenes. — His Works. — Other Sculptors. — Lykios. — Myronic Statues. — Cresilas. — Statues of Amazons. — Portrait of Pericles. — Strongylion. — Callimachos. — Demetrios. — His Characteristics. — Other Artists.

AROUND Pheidias a few men seem to have clustered as his scholars, among whom Agoracritos of Paros is called his favorite. As the story goes, this partiality for the Parian youth was so great, that the master often gave finishing touches to statues from his hand, and even presented Agoracritos with statues upon which the scholar was allowed to inscribe Pheidias' name, to the great perplexity of all later critics.⁶⁰¹

Agoracritos executed statues of Zeus and Athena in bronze, for a temple at Coroneia in Bœotia: this Zeus, called Hades by Strabo, was possibly a variation on Pheidias' Olympic Zeus.⁶⁰² But his most famous work was a Nemesis in marble at Rhamnus, the fragments of which show, that it was a dignified, quiet statue, 4.57 meters (fifteen feet) high, its pose suitable for an object of worship.⁶⁰³ The goddess wore a crown of equal height all around, on which were represented goddesses of victory, and deers, in relief. In one hand she carried an apple-branch, and in the other a *patera*, probably to receive libations. The base was richly decorated with mythic scenes, one of which conceived Nemesis as mother of Helen, giving her child into Leda's charge. According to one story, the statue was originally an Aphrodite Urania, executed in rivalry with Alcámenes, but, losing the prize, was changed to a Nemesis.⁶⁰⁴

Colotes, also a native of Paros, and a reputed pupil of one Pasiteles, is said to have been intimately associated with Pheidias in the execution of the Olympic Zeus.⁶⁰⁵ In Elis stood a statue attributed to Colotes, representing Athena in gold and ivory, and having a shield painted by Panainos: another authority calls it the work of Pheidias.⁶⁰⁶ This connection of Colotes' name with that of Pheidias clearly intimates a relationship between the two men. An Asclepios by Colotes, in Elis, likewise in gold and ivory, is greatly praised by Strabo.⁶⁰⁷ In the Temple of Zeus, at Olympia, stood a costly table of gold and ivory by this master, on which were laid the wreaths for the competitors in the games.⁶⁰⁸ On it were represented many of the great gods, besides

scenes referring to the games, and others which, owing to obscurity in Pausanias' text, cannot be determined. In this use of gold and ivory, Colotes resembles Pheidias; but Pliny tells us that he also executed in bronze figures of philosophers.⁶⁰⁹

Theocosmos of Megara, near Athens, we are informed, commenced for his native city a chryselephantine Zeus, in which he was aided by Pheidias.⁶¹⁰ The breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, however, prevented the completion of the statue, which Pausanias saw centuries after in a still unfinished state. The face was of costly material; but the remainder was hastily put together with clay and plaster, an interesting evidence that plaster was used as early as the Pheidian age. Theocosmos' throned Zeus seems to have resembled Pheidias' Olympian Zeus in having on the back of the throne two groups of three goddesses each, in this case the Hours and Fates. The momentous naval victory won by the Spartans over the Athenians at Aigospotamoi in 405 B.C., gave rise to Theocosmos' second known work. The conquerors ordered an extensive votive gift in bronze for Delphi. Among its numerous statues, mostly by masters of the Argive school, was a portrait-statue by Theocosmos of Hermon, the helmsman of the ship on which rode during the battle the victorious Spartan commander, Lysander.⁶¹¹

Thrasymedes of Paros was also reckoned among those who came under Pheidias' influence. Later ages ascribed one of his works to the great master. This was the statue in gold and ivory of the bearded Asclepios at Epidauros, reputed to have been the birthplace of this god of cures, and the most celebrated healing shrine in all Greece.⁶¹² This statue, half the size of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, was enthroned, and rested one hand on the head of the snake, Asclepios' symbol of ever-renewing youth; while the other hand held his staff. A dog, the companion of Asclepios' childhood, had a place here also; and the seat was richly decorated with reliefs, representing the deeds of the Argive heroes,—Bellerophon combating the Chimæra, and Perseus beheading the Gorgon. Thrasymedes' costly colossus was once thought to be reflected in coins found at Epidauros (Fig. 146).^{612a} Aside from a general resemblance in composition to the Pheidian Zeus, these coins are interesting because of the figure of a dog lying under the throne,—a motive which, in later times, seems to have been introduced into such works as the seated statue of the Torlonia collection, to be discussed later.



Fig. 146. Coin of Epidauros, with image of Asclepios, probably by Thrasymedes.

But the master who has long enjoyed the reputation of being Pheidias' most important pupil is Alcamenes, by some called also his rival. He worked in gold, ivory, bronze, and marble; thus showing his wide range of material, and an ideal tendency, apparently, similar to that of his great senior, Pheidias. Alcamenes' recorded works were statues of gods and heroes, with the single exception of one athlete.

Aphrodite he represented twice. The more celebrated of these two, and, indeed, the most so of all his works, was the marble statue of this goddess, as Urania, for a garden outside of Athens, and hence called *ἡ Κήπιος*. Great praise is bestowed upon the modelling of the cheeks, the graceful outline of the face, the rhythm of the wrists, and the hand with its delicate fingers. From the name, Urania, we may believe that Aphrodite was here conceived as fully draped.⁶¹³ There exists one beautiful draped figure in our museums which is found so frequently repeated that there can be no doubt its original was most celebrated. In style, moreover, it is so contained, and yet so coy, resembling in many respects the Parthenon marbles, that the original, no doubt, was created in the Pheidian age; and we may, perhaps, venture to connect it with the celebrated draped Aphrodite of the Garden, with exquisite fingers and gently modelled face by Alcamenes. The best-preserved *replica* of this subject, in which the head has been untampered with, is in the Louvre; while a graceful terra-cotta, recently discovered at Myrina, in Asia Minor, repeats the same motive, and has, besides, in the left hand, the missing symbol,—an apple or pomegranate.⁶¹⁴ The goddess here stands before us wearing a transparent *chiton* ungirded, and draws upward her veil with her right hand,—a motive, as we have seen, met with in the Olympia pedimental figures. On Roman coins, where this statue appears, it is called Venus Genetrix, clearly an adaptation of an old Greek Aphrodite; and by this name this beautiful statue has unfortunately come to be best known. But, fully to realize its beauty, we must look more closely at the grand features as they are preserved to us in a head in Parian marble, now in the Berlin Museum (Plate II.). It was purchased in 1873 in Rome, where it must have been originally introduced from Greece: it is clearly the work of a Greek chisel of the best age, and in its type is identical with the head of the Myrina terra-cotta and the Louvre statue. In its presence, with an exquisite freshness, spared from the restorer's touch, one feels the rare qualities of highest Attic art. The gentle, subtle life, wreathing lips and cheeks; the soulful look about eyes and brow,—are met nowhere else in such perfection. The plate gives us a dawning of this beaming life, and shows us the exquisite round oval, the beautifully but closely waving hair, and the dignity of a face full of strength and vigor, yet graced with every gentle, womanly charm. We imagine its possessor as loving and being loved with an intense and unwavering devotion. The head-dress in which the flowing locks behind are closely gathered, the clear cut of the forehead, the strong but graceful chin, and slight bend of the head, combined with the chaste maidenly expression, are familiar to us from the heads of the maidens in the frieze of the Parthenon, and show what must have been the grandeur of the statues of that day. If Alcamenes indeed created the original of this beautiful statue, it indicates a great advance upon his sculptures at Olympia, described on p. 266, and must have been the work of his ripest years. That the masters of this age



did progress thus rapidly seems proven by Paionios' case, between whose temple sculptures and flying Nike there is so great a gap.

Athena was represented by Alcamenes in a statue already described, in rivalry with Pheidias; Alcamenes losing the prize, it is said, on account of his deficient knowledge of the laws of optical effect.⁶¹⁵ The weird and spectral Hecate he appears to have represented in an original manner, in a shrine which stood near the Temple of Nike Apteros, on the Acropolis.⁶¹⁶ Hecate's realm was triple,—heaven, earth, and sea: to her the traveller prayed, and to her the gates were sacred. Roadside chapels were erected to her; and in her honor monthly offerings of food were placed at all street-crossings and in public squares, to be consumed by the poor. She was thought to come through the silent, moonlit street, where she was greeted by the dismal baying of dogs, her sacred animals. This goddess Alcamenes represented in triple form, thus establishing the artistic tradition which has been distinctly transmitted to us in many bronzes and statuettes representing three figures around a pillar. In the limping smith-god, Hephaistos, from his hand, in Athens, he was said to have rendered the infirmity, without, however, detracting any thing from the dignity, of the god.⁶¹⁷ An Ares, by Alcamenes, stood in the temple of that god in Athens; a Dionysos of gold and ivory in the god's ancient shrine, near an Athenian theatre; and an Asclepios by him adorned a temple in Mantinea in the Peloponnesos.⁶¹⁸

His last reputed work (referred to on p. 271) associates him with the triumph of the Athenians over the Thirty Tyrants 403 B.C. But, if he was one of the sculptors engaged in the execution of the Olympia marbles, his age would have been so great at this time as to cast doubt on his authorship of this group, and render it possible that it was by another Alcamenes, perhaps his son. As the success of the Athenians had been greatly due to the aid of Thebes, they resolved to erect votive statues, both to Attic and Theban gods. The master, according to tradition, was therefore commissioned to execute a group for one of the Theban temples. This he did in statues, probably in Pentelic marble, of the Theban hero, Heracles, associated with Athena, which stood for centuries in the Temple of Heracles at Thebes.

Of his bronze athlete, with the name Encrinomenos (most excellent), we only know that it represented a combatant in the *pentathlon*.⁶¹⁹ So vaguely are Alcamenes' ideals described to us, that it would be futile to attempt to trace back to them any other existing works: but it is interesting to notice, that like his fellow-scholars, Colotes and Thrasympedes, he represented Asclepios, and now assisted in spreading ripened Attic art to other parts of Greece; that is, to the Peloponnesos and Bœotia.

Besides these few associates of Pheidias, Athens harbored at this time the pupils of still other sculptors. The quaint but graceful Calamis had a scholar

Praxias, who began architectural sculptures for the pediment of the temple at Delphi; but, death interrupting his labors, the work was completed by another Athenian, Androstenes. In the front pediment were represented Apollo, his mother Leto, sister Artemis, and the Muses: in the other appeared Helios as the setting sun, and Dionysos with the Thyads.⁶²⁰

Of still other sculptors in Athens, some are thought to have followed Myron: others cannot be assigned to any school. Among Myron's followers are reckoned masters who, like him, did not give expression to the loftiest ideals, but found their field of activity in humbler realms. Only one is mentioned as his direct scholar, — his own son, Lykios, who, like his father, worked in bronze. For Apollonia, Lykios executed an extensive bronze group of thirteen figures, a thank-offering for the conquest of Thronion in Epeiros: accompanied by a dedicatory inscription, this group stood on a semicircular base in the open air at Olympia, near the Temple of Hippodameia.⁶²¹ The scene, like that of Onatas' group (p. 239), was from epic story. Here Achilles and Memnon prepared for conflict, accompanied each by his country's heroes, — Achilles by Odysseus, Menelaos, Diomedes, and Ajax, over against the barbarians Memnon, Helenos, Alexandros, Æneas, and Deiphobos. In the centre was Zeus, whose aid was being sought by Thetis, the mother of Achilles, on one side, and by Hemera, the mother of Memnon, on the other. Whatever details the sculptor may have introduced, we see that his composition was a strictly symmetrical one, which, in its semicircular arrangement, reminds us of the neighboring group by Onatas.

To two other works by Lykios far greater importance is attached, both by Pliny and Pausanias.⁶²² These were two statues of boys engaged in the temple service. One of them, in bronze, with the basin for holy water, stood at the entrance to the Temple of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis at Athens. A part of the ritual of the Greek temple consisted in the frequent use of consecrated water, a basin of which stood at the entrance to every holy place. With it the priest sprinkled the altar and worshippers. It is possible that Lykios' boy formed the pedestal of such a vessel, into which was dipped the firebrand from the altar, or the laurel-branch, for purification; and the subject is of interest as being apparently taken from life, and used as decoration in a temple. As such it would naturally be less subservient to worship than actual votive offerings, and may mark one of those steps which should lead eventually to the thorough emancipation of ancient art in some branches from the service of religion, and in so far bring it nearer to modern *genre*. Of a similar character seems to have been Lykios' second statue, a boy blowing up a fire for incense, and described as worthy of his father, Myron.⁶²³ The use of incense, no less than holy water, was a part of the Greek ritual; and hence it is possible that this figure likewise was decorative, standing before the statue of the god, or at the entrance to the temple. Myron had expressed

intense physical life and strong breathing in his exhausted runner Ladas, and his Discobolos ; and Lykios' boy blowing the embers seems a happy continuation of the father's tendency. The only athlete recorded as from Lykios' hands, is that of the pancratiast Autolykos, who, according to Xenophon, was a model Attic youth : of Lykios' other works, called indefinitely Argonauts by Pliny, we are left in ignorance.⁶²⁴

Styppax, a native of Cyprus, has been associated with Myron, on account of a statue by him in Athens, similar in subject to Lykios' boy blowing the embers. Styppax's statue (*Splanchnoptes*) was probably of a youth blowing with full cheeks a fire where the entrails of the sacrificial beast were roasting. This statue was dedicated to Athena, by Pericles, in commemoration of a miraculous cure wrought upon a favorite slave.⁶²⁵ During the building of the Propylaia this slave, the most efficient of the workmen, while engaged about his work, fell from the lofty building, and was so seriously injured that physicians declared his case to be hopeless. The goddess, however, appeared in a dream to Pericles, and directed him to use an herb growing on the Acropolis. Upon its application the beloved slave rapidly recovered ; and, in thanks, Pericles caused a bronze statue of Athena Hygieia to be put up on the Acropolis by one Pyrrhos, and, by Styppax, a statue of the slave. The pedestal of the Athena, with the dedicatory inscription, is still to be seen ; but the site where Styppax's statue stood is unknown.⁶²⁶

In spirit like these youths of the Myronic school seems to be the celebrated bronze boy of the Capitol, pulling out a thorn from his foot. He is greatly absorbed in the action ; and his meagre, lean form shows quaint traits, which, even though it be admitted that they are only an imitation, in all probability mirror to us the pleasing spirit and the abilities of this school.⁶²⁷

Another foreigner, Cresilas, from Kydonia in Crete, was active in Athens during the age of Pericles. His name is preserved to us in an inscription found on the Acropolis at Athens.⁶²⁸ An epigram speaks of him, and several of his works are fully described. Among these was a Doryphoros, or athlete carrying a spear ; an Amazon executed in rivalry with Pheidias, Polycleitos, and others ; a portrait of Pericles ; another of the Attic general Diitrephes, consecrated by his son on the Acropolis at Athens ; and, finally, a wounded, dying man, by some thought to be the Diitrephes in whose statue, as Pliny blindly says, "one could see how much life was still in him."⁶²⁹ Attempts have been made to trace back frequently recurring statues of wounded Amazons to Cresilas' original ; but, as types of this subject are numerous, it is doubtful whether any one of them can with certainty be ascribed to him. We may notice, however, that in the extant *replicas* of wounded Amazons, although the blood is trickling from the gash, and there is, in face and pose, a certain sternness and gloomy earnestness, still no shade of overwhelming sorrow, or quick pain quivering through the body, is to be read in the faces ; and the forms have

the massive, strong build given in this century to the female as well as the male shape. The portrait of Pericles, by Cresilas, may have stood on the Acropolis, where Pausanias saw a statue of the statesman. A weighty task it must have been to represent worthily this man who had won the first place among the gifted Athenians; but so well did Cresilas accomplish it, that his portrait was said to be worthy to be called Olympian, as Pericles himself was styled; in it, as Pliny says, "it might be seen how noble men were made nobler." Three helmeted busts in London, Rome, and Munich, it is thought may have been derived from this celebrated original.⁶³⁰ The one in the Brit-

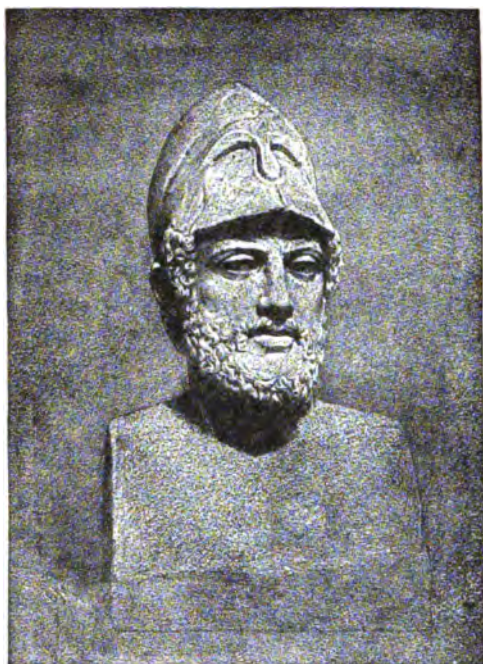


Fig. 147. Portrait of Pericles. Vatican.

ish Museum was found inscribed with the statesman's name in the ruins of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, and, with the one in the Vatican (Fig. 147), seems best to render the reserved and earnest character of the Athenian leader. It is not, like portraits of a later day, an accurate reproduction of individual peculiarities. The likeness is generalized; we see it only as through a veil of ideality: the hair and beard, in keeping with the treatment of the face, are formally rendered. The lack of any thing Olympian about it may be due to the failure of the copyist to preserve the grandeur of the original. Pericles' head, owing to its shape, became the butt of many a joke on the Athenian comic stage, where he was called the "onion-headed." Plutarch tells the story,

that, on account of this peculiarity, Pericles refused to allow his portrait to be taken without a helmet; but comparison with heads of other ancient generals, which are often helmeted, shows that the helmet is here simply a sign of office.

The name of another artist, Strongylion, is associated with representations of animals which were very famous. Shortly before 415 B.C. (Olymp. 91. 2), a colossal bronze steed, from his hand, was placed on the Acropolis at Athens, a votive offering from an Attic citizen.⁶³¹ The size and novelty of the subject—the Trojan horse, out of which peered the Greek heroes—made it town-talk, and it figures in Aristophanes' "Birds;" but to-day the pedestal, 3.35 meters (eleven feet) long, bearing the dedicatory inscription and Strongylion's name, is all that is left. In Megara was to be seen a statue of Artemis Soteira, from

Strongylion's hand, very like one in Pagai, as Pausanias tells us.⁶³² Coins of this latter city show us, probably, a reflex of this image: here, though an object of worship, Artemis does not stand quietly to receive adoration, but seems to be running rapidly. Three Muses by this master, on Mount Helicon, were grouped with three by Olympiosthenes, and three by Kephisodotos, the father of Praxiteles.⁶³³ Of an Amazon by Strongylion, we only know that it was famous on account of the beauty of its thighs, being called Eucnemon; and that Nero was reported to have taken the statue with him on journeys.⁶³⁴ For another statue of a young boy by Strongylion, Brutus, who fell at Philippi, was said to have conceived a violent passion, which caused it to receive the name of Philippiensis.⁶³⁵ In view of Pausanias' praise of Strongylion's steers and horses, and the emphasized beauty of his physical forms, the theory is entertained by Brunn, that he shared the Myronic tendency in Attic art.⁶³⁶

Callimachos, the reputed inventor of the Corinthian column, is not distinctly stated to have been an Athenian; but his golden lamp in the Erechtheion, with undying flame, although filled but once a year, indicates his intimate relationship with Athens.⁶³⁷ Of a bridal Hera for Plataiai, and dancing Lakedaimonian women, ascribed to Callimachos, we are told that their extreme finish destroyed their grace.⁶³⁸ Different authors speak of his painful particularity in detail, and hence he has been ranked second to the great masters.⁶³⁹

A contemporary of the men thus far described, one Demetrios, born in the Attic *demos* Alopeke, judging from the descriptions of his works, seems to stand somewhat apart from his fellows, following a realistic tendency, which crops out, however, also in vase-painters of this time. Of gods, one figure only, that of the goddess Athena, is recorded from his hand; the remainder of his works being portraits, two of which were of wrinkled old age.⁶⁴⁰ One represented a priestess who had served her shrine for sixty-four years; and the other Pelichos, a Corinthian general. The inscription of the former is probably preserved to us.⁶⁴¹ The latter is vividly described by Lucian, who says, "Have you not seen, on entering the court, that excellent statue by Demetrios? I mean the old man with round belly, bald head, and beard, of which some hairs seem blown by the wind, and with a body half-bared, having swollen veins, and like that of a man who enjoys the good things of life." Quintilian's blame of Demetrios, that he cared more for resemblance than beauty, seems to indicate in him a realism foreign to the general spirit of the sculptures of this time.⁶⁴²

Among other sculptors of this latter half of the fifth century, was one Nike-ratos, who represented Alkibiades and his mother, Demarate, offering with a burning lamp.⁶⁴³ Micon, the painter, and sculptor as well, and the scholars of Critios, were also now active, and with numerous others, of many of whom the names only are preserved in fragmentary inscriptions, witness to the tremendous artistic life of Athens.⁶⁴⁴

And so we turn gladly from this dubitable land, where report and conjecture rule, to the monuments themselves,—those eloquent, although sadly mutilated, witnesses to the greatness of Attic art,—and eagerly question them as to the secrets of that great age.

CHAPTER XIX.

ATTIC SCULPTURES OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. THE PARTHENON.

The Sacred Acropolis.—The Destruction and Rebuilding of its Holy Places.—Vicissitudes of the Parthenon.—Changes made in Byzantine Times.—Destruction by the Venetians.—Wide Dispersion of Fragments.—Rescue of Elgin Marbles.—Carrey's Drawings.—Extent of Sculptures of Parthenon.—The Metopes.—Diversity of their Style.—Compared with Olympia Marbles.—The Frieze.—Subjects treated.—The Gods.—Sacrificial Scene.—Panathenaic Procession.—The Sculptures of the Pediments.—Reports of the Ancients.—Present Condition.—East Pediment.—Central Scene.—Remaining Figures.—West Pediment.—Its Subject.—Tragic Fate of the most of its Sculptures.—Athena Group.—Poseidon Group.—Characteristics of Style and Treatment of Pedimental Sculptures.—Superiority to many Great Works of Antiquity.—Admirable Adaptation to Temple Adornment.—Influences which produced these Achievements in Sculpture.—Opinions concerning them.—Their Charm not dependent upon Material used.—Majesty of the Thought.

THE costly chryselephantine colossi and the less pretending bronzes which did service in the temples have perished; but priceless marbles have outlived the buffetings of time, witnesses to the marvellous activity in Athens during the latter half of the fifth century B.C. In the very front rank are the marbles which adorned the temple of Pheidias' golden Athena Parthenos, erected on the summit of the Acropolis.

This height had been from time immemorial the most sacred spot in the eyes of the Athenians. There, through centuries, the holy flame had burned; there Poseidon's sacred spring and Athena's olive had been jealously guarded; and there her time-honored wooden image had been worshipped, and her treasure hoarded. But the wasting fires of the Persian occupation had desecrated this spot, and burned down its temples. To rebuild these, the Athenians, under Pericles, set resolutely to work; and, about 447 B.C., the glorious structure of the Parthenon (Virgin's Shrine) was begun, to be finished, probably, about 434 B.C.⁶⁴⁵ Could we have visited the Attic capital during this time, we should have seen the people thronging the site of the building, and the artists' workshops. We should have seen blocks of Pentelic marble pass up the steep sides of the Acropolis, drawn on carts, or carried on the backs of mules. If we may believe ancient story, even these beasts of burden took an interest in the raising of the structure. We are told that an octogenarian mule, dismissed from service on account of age, still joined the procession of carts, plodding

energetically by the side of its younger comrades, and, as a reward for faithfulness, received a lifelong pension from the state.⁶⁴⁶

By 437 B.C. the statue of Athena Parthenos stood nearly complete, and was consecrated in that year in connection with the great festival in honor of Athena; but it is probable that the temple pediments were not completed until about three years later. As a great religious centre of ancient Hellas, this temple received gifts from all. Even long after Athens' political glory had faded, monarchs such as Alexander, and Attalos of Pergamon, continued to send thither their gifts. In and about it were placed statues, even on the steps leading up to the colonnade. So numerous were the treasures, that one ancient writer found material to fill four, and another fifteen, books, simply in describing these votive gifts.

The history of the building, and the storms which it has braved, might fill a volume of breathless interest. Sulla, the Roman conqueror, was satisfied with despoiling the Acropolis of only fifty pounds of gold, and six hundred of silver; and, more than five hundred years after its completion, men wondered at the freshness of the temple and its statue. It was with the fall of the ancient world before Christianity, approximately in the fifth century A.D., that this temple of the pagan virgin-goddess of wisdom first suffered much change, being turned into a church of the saint of wisdom, Sophia, and, still later, made sacred to the virgin mother of God.⁶⁴⁷ The east entrance was closed up by an apsis built against it. The *cella* was covered with an arching roof, which left the colonnade open, and the frieze exposed; and two niches were broken through the west pediment. The walls of the interior were covered with the stiff forms of Byzantine art, traces of which are still to be recognized. Rude inscriptions, scratched by the Christians, may still be seen, touching ejaculatory prayers, like those in Roman catacombs, but strangely out of place on these glorious columns. In 1458 the building passed into the hands of the Turks, who soon turned it into a mosque, making little change, except the addition of a minaret. In the seventeenth century the Turks, besieged by the Venetians, retired to the Acropolis; and a deserter bringing the news that the enemy were using the Parthenon as a powder-magazine, the Venetian commander, Morosini, gave orders to make a target of the building. On the evening of Friday, Sept. 26, 1687, a fatal bomb fell into the midst of the temple; and, in the catastrophe which followed, all that was left of the glorious Parthenon was a part of the *cella*-wall and pediments, with remnants of sculpture, and a few columns. With the capitulation of the Turks, two days later, the work of spoliation commenced. Orders were given to tear the steeds from Athena's chariot in the west pediment; but in being lowered they fell, and were shattered into a thousand pieces. A fatal passion for possession seems to have seized those who visited Greece in the eighteenth century; and the work of destruction was accelerated by the Athenians themselves, who burned many fragments to obtain

lime. Finally, in the years 1801-03, Lord Elgin happily appeared to rescue much of the remainder. After long delay, and many perils, the marbles arrived in England, exciting great interest, and awakening much diversity of opinion.⁶⁴⁸ Even accredited authorities in art-matters declared them to be "not originals," but from "Hadrian's time," and the work of "journeymen not deserving the name of artists." As praiseworthy exceptions, Benjamin West, the American painter, and Haydon, the English sculptor, recognized the artistic value of the marbles immediately; the latter pleading for them in an appeal to Parliament. In 1816 they were acquired by the British Government for the sum of thirty-five thousand pounds, and received shelter in the British Museum. The remaining fragments from the Parthenon are scattered far and wide in Copenhagen, Baden, Paris, Vienna, and elsewhere; and some still cling to the temple-ruins.⁶⁴⁹ Their material is not costly imported Parian marble, but from the quarries on Mount Pentelicos, near Athens; and its golden hue may still be recognized on many of the slabs of the frieze, which are protected by glass cases in the Elgin room: while the pedimental groups are hopelessly stained with the gray city-fog.

Fortunately, before the demons of war were let loose, and powder shattered those time-honored walls, a French artist, Jacques Carrey, had made hasty sketches of the sculptures in fourteen days. These drawings have proved of the greatest importance in studying the composition of the ruined marbles, and bring home to us a sense of our great loss.⁶⁵⁰ In 1676 two English travellers, Spon and Wheeler, forerunners of the present throng of tourists, visited Athens, and confirmed the correctness of Carrey's drawings by their quaint descriptions.

The sculptures adorning the exterior of the Parthenon comprised (compare Fig. 113) (*a*) detached groups, which gave emphasis to the metopes of a ponderous entablature surrounding the entire building; (*d*) a graceful band or frieze, which enriched the top of the sacred place, or *cella*,—this frieze, raised 12.20 meters (forty feet) above the eye, and visible to those walking under the colonnades, alone having had a length of 128.60 meters (five hundred and twenty feet); and (*b*) statues in dramatic composition, which occupied the east and west pediments. How impossible a task it would have been for one man, in a few short years, to produce this work, comprising several thousand square feet of relief, well-nigh fifty colossal marble statues, besides several colossi of gold and ivory, is apparent: and while the conception of the whole, and, doubtless, designs for some of the details, emanated from Pheidias, the execution must have been by other hands; and, indeed, it seems evident, from inscriptions recently found, that the pedimental sculptures were not completed until after his death.⁶⁵¹

THE METOPES.

The metopes of the strong Doric frieze surrounding the Parthenon, ninety-two in number, were all sculptured, requiring an expenditure of labor not found on the metopes of any other existing temple; judging from their style, they were executed before the remaining sculptures of the building. Forty-one of these mutilated groups still crown the lofty pillars; one is in Athens, detached from the building; eighteen are entirely gone; the best preserved, fifteen in number, are in the British Museum; and one is in the Louvre. These sculptured squares (1.28 by 1.21 meter) present varied scenes, the exact relationship of which to one another and the rest of the temple-marbles is not in every case clear, on account of their ruined condition. On the east front seems to be represented the battle of gods with giants, those personifications of evil over whom the deities of Olympus came off victorious, chiefly through the courage of Athena, who, with Zeus and Heracles, destroyed the "fierce brood." On one of the metopes, still on the building, it is possible to recognize the goddess herself in conflict with her foe. On the west side the subject seems to be either the mythic conflict of Greeks with Amazons, or the battle of Marathon. In either case the meaning seems to be the expulsion of invaders, and establishment of order. The scenes of the longer, the north and south, sides, are from the conquest of Troy, and the conflicts with the centaurs which arose at the wedding of the Lapith king, Peirithoös. On one of them, according to Carrey's drawing, were represented two females, apparently taking refuge by the stiff image of a god. Others represent the bearing off of the women of the bridal party by the centaurs, or the conflicts of these monsters with the Greeks; victory seeming now to turn to the side of the warriors, and now to that of their foe. In each metope two figures are wrestling; and so well expressed are the positions, that it would be well-nigh impossible to change the grip of a hand, or thrust of a foot, without breaking down the whole artistic structure. In some this vigorous composition is coupled with a harshness of execution, both in the nude and drapery, in striking contrast to the perfect freedom in others. An amusing but reliable characteristic of the better metopes is to be found in the centaurs' tails. It will be seen throughout, that, where they are thrown up, the sculpture is lively and excellent; but, where they drop to the ground, there is much harsh archaism in the forms, calling to mind in many instances the centaur-groups of the Olympia pediment by which the sculptors of these metopes were evidently greatly influenced.⁶⁵² To the harsher class belongs that metope in the British Museum in which the bellicose centaur rears up, while a youth thrusts one knee against his ponderous weight, and catches him by the ear and hair. With an expression of great surprise, but sly determination, the centaur clutches his antagonist by the throat, and slings the front hoof around the Greek's raised leg, leaving us in uncertainty as to the

issue. The youth's face, devoid of any emotion, retains the immobility of archaic features. The centaur's eyebrows arch like a crescent, his forehead and cheeks are full of wrinkles, his hair is dishevelled, and his low-bridged nose, and broad, spreading nostrils, give him a brutal look, very like the centaurs of Olympia. In this metope, and the one placed next to it, in the Elgin room, we find the centaurs' equine bodies disagreeably slender; the tails falling straight to the ground, and the youths' forms meagre. In another metope, belonging to this harsher class, a rearing centaur catches a fallen Lapith by the hair as he sinks on one knee (Fig. 148). We feel that the warrior must either the next moment spring up to save himself, or perish. With one hand he catches a stone at his side, and with the other pushes off the ponderous enemy bearing down upon him. The mantle, slipping from his right shoulder, must soon fall off entirely in the fierce *mêlée*; although its leathery folds call to mind the earlier, coarser work at Olympia, yet its lines throw out well the surface of the body, and pleasantly fill up the relief. The Lapith's form is severe in outline, and his face shows something of suffering. His eyebrows are knitted, and his forehead slightly wrinkled; but his closed mouth can utter no cry. He endures heroically. The centaur's tail, which falls straight to the ground, is apparently an unfinished mass, the details probably once having been expressed by color. On still another metope a rearing centaur has his arms thrown up, as if swinging a rough club; and his brutal face is full of jeering assurance of triumph. The standing youth vigorously pushes back his enemy's arms, and plants his foot against the hostile bulk, but reaches it only with his toes, making us fear that they must soon slip off. The youth's drapery flies in low relief behind: the forms are harsh, and the centaur's tail is unnaturally rigid.



Fig. 148. Metope from Parthenon. Conflict between Centaur and Lapith. British Museum.

Of the superior class of metopes, in which the centaur's tail is raised, there is one in which a centaur bears off a woman. A stone, which he has dropped, lies on the ground: his frail victim pulls at his strong wrist, as at Olympia, to loosen his grasp, and violently throws herself. Her thin drapery shares the agitation: it has partially dropped from her bosom, and flutters about her in countless folds. The centaur's self-satisfied face, less brutal than that of his senior at Olympia, bears a striking resemblance to the portraits of Socrates, who, on account of his ugly features, was the butt of the Attic stage. The form of this centaur combines strong, full proportions with an admirable rendering

of skin and veins: the space above his back is pleasantly occupied by the woman's mantle flying in the breeze made by his canter. Still another metope represents a centaur seizing a powerfully built woman, who is in such rapid flight that her *chiton* flies open, exposing one leg. The centaur's clutch has torn the garment from her shoulder; and she, like her companion of the last-mentioned metope, struggles to unlock his grasp. These two metopes stood one on each side of a third, in which seems reflected the imposing form of the Apollo of the Olympia pediment. In these three metopes, then, we have, as Furtwängler believes, the central composition of the west pediment at Olympia sundered into three groups, losing, however, thereby, something of the freshness and intensity of those older marbles.^{652a} On another metope, a centaur raises on high a huge vase, doubtless one of the wine-jars of the feast, soon to descend with fatal crash on the head of his enemy. The centaur-face has here



Fig. 149. Metope from Parthenon. British Museum.

a more human expression than elsewhere, which is enhanced by the well-shapen skull, and orderly beard and hair. The Lapith foe holds on his left arm a shield, and supports himself in his fall: around his head is bound a fillet, and his face wears only a shade of apprehension. The foreshortening of his farther leg is interesting, as the only example in the metopes of the British Museum, and is a mode of treating relief not generally practised until later. As may readily be supposed, in this excellent metope the

centaur's tail is thrown up, the extreme tip falling over on to the haunches. On still another, a Greek, planting one knee on the centaur's back, has brought him to the ground, and, seizing him by the neck, is about to deal the fatal blow. The centaur, with widely opened mouth, is screaming in his distress; for, unlike the heroic Greek, the beast succumbs to fear. We admire the anatomy of his fallen form, and its skilful union of the human and equine, as well as the robust and pliable shape of the warrior. Again (Fig. 149), a powerful Greek has caught a centaur from behind, and seems to be causing him much trouble, as with his left arm he seizes the brute's hair, and, with right extended, probably prepares to deal a fatal blow. Let us note how his full mantle, spread out behind, well fills out the background of the sculpture, and throws out its vigorous forms. Crowning all, is the metope (Fig. 150) in which the struggle is past, and the semi-beast gallops away over the body of his fallen foe, waving triumphantly his lion's skin. The whole form seems to swell with joy, a striking contrast to the prostrate Greek, who lies on his mantle, his head hanging

over a rock, and his muscles relaxed in death. Would that the face had been preserved, for it might have revealed to us how the Attic artists then expressed the pangs of death! Comparing this body with other fallen warriors, such as those from the friezes of the Theseus temple, from Phigaleia and Xanthos, or with the fallen sons of Niobe, we shall feel at once its simple boldness and ideal truth.

With few exceptions, these metopes, representing the battles of the centaurs, as we have seen, not only in their composition, but also in their very mode of treatment, seem to be dependent upon the older sculptures at Olympia. As Furtwängler well expresses it, these sculptures in Attica are evidently a current from the great art-stream which flowed in Olympia. But what seemed like a mighty river there, here flows in a narrower bed, and is quieter and more clear. The fulness and broadness there, is here reduced to meagreness; the exaggerated, to moderation, — showing improvements being made by the later Attic masters upon what we believe to be their Ionian models. How admirably sculptural the old

motives have become, appears on considering the relationship of these metopes to the architecture; their bold, horizontal lines, strongly contrasted with the perpendiculars of the triglyphs; the strong lights and deep shadows of their high relief, sometimes jutting over the edge; and the dark background of color, traces of which are still left, — giving a solidity of effect eminently suited to the massive Doric entablature of the imposing temple-exterior.



Fig. 160. Metope from Parthenon. Triumph of Centaur over Dead Lapith. British Museum.

THE FRIEZE.

Turning from the metopes (Fig. 113 *a*), on the exterior of the building we may contemplate the unbroken frieze (Fig. 113 *d*) which encircled the top of the wall of the *cella*, or body of the temple. Here, within the massive columns, under the roof of the colonnade, this frieze, 128.60 meters (520 feet) in length, and about one meter in height, ran along the entablature of the *pronaos* and *opisthodomos*, as well as the north and south walls of the *hecatompedos* and Parthenon (see temple-plan, Fig. 112). This long, unbroken frieze here most beautifully takes the place occupied by metopes and triglyphs in the older Doric temple at Olympia, but shows its Doric affinities by retaining the tri

glyph in the rudimentary form of its *regula*.⁶⁵³ About 122 meters of this frieze now line the Elgin room; one beautiful slab is in the Louvre; fragments of others are in Vienna, Carlsruhe, and Athens; and much of the remainder is still attached to the ruins.⁶⁵⁴ In studying this frieze, Carrey's drawings are invaluable assistants, supplementing many details now lost.

In this sculptured band, which surrounded the temple-walls, a procession passes before our eyes, such as wound through the streets of Athens at the great festival in honor of Athena, founded, it was believed, in mythic ages, by Erichthonios, Athena's adopted son, and renewed by Theseus, the great hero of Attica. This Panathenaic festival fell in high summer, and consisted, originally, in an annual sacrifice, athletic competitive games, and the bringing of the *peplos*, a piece of richly embroidered apparel, for the goddess.⁶⁵⁴ Peisistratos enhanced the attractions of the festival by adding a competition of rhapsodists, who delivered, in a free manner, Homeric poems; and the public-spirited Pericles increased the number of these musical and poetical contests. Not Athens alone brought hecatombs for offering, but also her colonial cities, each of which sent a spotless cow and two sheep for offering. The first four days were passed in games and rivalries, in music and song. The prize awarded was an olive-wreath, and a vase containing sacred oil from Athena's olives. On the recurrence of each Olympiad, every fifth year, the procession was made richer than at the annual festivals. On the last day, the traditional anniversary of Athena's birth, a new and beautiful *peplos*, embroidered by high-born Attic maidens and matrons with heroic scenes, — especially the combat of the goddess herself with the giants, — was carried in solemn procession to the Acropolis, there to be clothed upon her ancient idol. Choice sacrifices were then brought to the goddess, a bounteous repast spread before the people, and captives were set free. All Attica took part, old and young, mother and maiden, free-born and alien. Even the freed slaves shared in the rejoicings, decorating the market-place with oak-leaves. In the procession, as we learn from literature, native-born Athenian ladies carried vessels and vases for offering, attended by their less fortunate alien sisters with umbrellas and chairs. Only maidens of highest rank and of blameless character and person, prepared by several days of abstinence and seclusion, were allowed to bear in baskets, to the altar, sashes to wreath the victim, and set it apart as holy, sacrificial knives, and corn to strew upon the offering. In the procession were to be seen envoys in charge of the beasts for sacrifice; gray-haired sires, chosen for their beauty, bearers of branches from Athena's sacred olive-tree; heavy-armed men of Athens; and youths on horseback or in chariots, — the whole being under the direction of marshals. And all this fleeting mortal beauty, which was to be seen in Athens over twenty-three hundred years ago, has been made immortal by the sculptor in the ideal splendor of his art.

In the east frieze, on the front of the temple, there reigned in the com-

position a quiet beseeching the approach to the sacred building. Single groups from this eastern frieze, showing the true beauty of the forms, and exquisite surface-rendering, appear in Selections, Plates III. and IV.; and the centre which occupied the space over the temple-entrance is represented in Fig. 151. Here a sacred rite is being observed, in which five standing mortals participate. On each side the gods themselves are enthroned as honored guests in the midst of the people, who stand or approach beyond them. But the gods are conceived as unseen by the multitude, as the first approaching figures have their backs turned upon these deities. Directly over the entrance a stately woman (Fig. 151, *a*), doubtless a priestess, takes a chair from the head of a smaller female attendant, and will, in like manner, soon relieve a second who approaches with her burden, and looks back seemingly at the procession, of which this group is doubtless conceived as a part.⁶⁵⁵ Beside the priestess, a dignified bearded man (*b*) is engaged in taking from or handing to a beautiful youth a robe; or, it may be, he aids in folding it. This scene is often explained as the ceremonious handing of the embroidered *peplos* to a priest within the temple; but the presence of the priestess and her two maidens makes it more probable that this is a sacrificial scene outside the building, where preparations are being made for the offering of the victims represented in the frieze as approaching.⁶⁵⁶ Brunn first suggested that the folded robe in question was probably nothing else than the priest's own mantle (*himation*); since he alone of the bearded men of the procession is not wrapped in this robe, worn over the long *chiton*. Moreover, the strong resemblance of this folded cloth to the mantles worn by the rest, having the same undulating border and ample size, but no indication of embroidery, conflicts with the theory that it is the *peplos*. On the supposition, then, that this is a sacrificial scene, we may believe that the priest here lays off his cumbersome garment, and hands it to his attendant, preparatory to the solemn act of slaying the victims. The representation on an Attic relief of a priest in the same untrammelled dress, and holding the knife, is, moreover, strongly confirmatory of this explanation. While the priest is thus engaged, the priestess lowers the chairs that are to be occupied by him and her during the approach of the procession. When all is ready, the priestess will lift up a prayer, the priest will slay the victim, and lay its flesh upon the altar to be burned, a sweet-smelling and acceptable offering before the gods.⁶⁵⁷ Such is, in all probability, the sacred



Fig. 151. Central Groups of the East Frieze of the Parthenon: (a) Priestess; (b) Priest; (c) Zeus; (d) Hera; (e) Iris; (f) Athena; (g) Hephaestus.

rite suggested in this scene by the laying off of a garment and the receiving a chair, acts insignificant in themselves.

On each side of this central scene, the sculptor has placed divinities, seven gods and goddesses on a side ; their superiority to mortals being indicated by their greater size. It is claimed by some, that these are all Attic deities ; but by others the conjecture is, that they represent a wider circle, the twelve great Olympic gods (Zeus, Hera, Athena, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Hermes, Ares, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Demeter, and Hestia), whose worship was, according to Thukydides, established by Peisistratos in Athens, who erected an altar to them in the market-place, a part of the inscription of which has recently been discovered.⁶⁵⁸ The supporters of this theory claim, that, changes being usual in local worship, one female deity, perhaps Hestia, is replaced in this frieze by Dionysos, who was especially honored in Athens.⁶⁵⁹ At the right of the central scene (Fig. 151, *c*), first and mightiest is Zeus, the king of gods, majestically seated upon a throne adorned with sphinxes, and more elaborate than the rest. A rich mantle leaves his powerful chest exposed, but drops fully about his limbs to the sandalled feet. One hand holds easily the royal sceptre ; and his left arm rests upon the back of his regal throne, partly covered by the folds of his mantle. Beside him sits his spouse, the matronly, fully draped Hera (*d*), who unveils to him alone her beauty. By the two a smaller figure (*e*) — whose standing posture and wings mark her as one of the minor goddesses — is, probably, Iris of the "golden wings," Zeus' messenger, and Hera's constant attendant, the one who prepared their couch, and executed their commands. Somewhat separated from them are four youthful divinities, seen in diminutive form in Fig. 151, and in full in Selections, Plate III. The first of these is, perhaps, the stormy Ares, who clasps his knee, — a pose which is thought, in ancient art, to have expressed struggling with inner emotion. The sculptor could not show in a seated figure all the wild passion of the war-god, and so takes this subtle way of hinting Ares' fierce nature, indicated also in the broad, strong chest. The seated Ares in the Villa Ludovisi, with sword and shield, has the same attitude ; and Eros, playing under his seat, shows that thoughts of love there keep the fierce god from war. In the frieze of Lysicrates' Choragic monument of the fourth century B.C., a satyr (Fig. 203) sits thus clasping his knee ; his uneasy pose, while the battle rages beyond him, expressing here also restrained excitement. In this Ares of the east frieze of the Parthenon, the attractions of the coming procession seem to bind, for the hour, the passions of the war-god. The choice and forms of the gods grouped with this fiery Ares are eminently appropriate. Opposite to him, but likewise facing the procession, is one shod with high boots, ready for the journey, and holding on his lap his broad hat, or *petasos*. This can be no other than Hermes, the messenger-god. We almost expect, at a moment's warning, to see him spring from his seat, draw on his mantle, as is usual with this god buttoned over the arm,

put on his broad-brimmed hat, and speedily disappear. Leaning on Hermes' shoulder is a youth of noble form and bearing, raised on a cushion higher than the others, and with head turned to watch the coming procession. His left arm is raised as if supported on a long sceptre, once represented in bronze; while rich, full drapery falls over his lap. Facing him is a goddess, enthroned in like manner. The position of these figures, as Flasch has shown, aids in their identification. They cannot be husband and wife, or lovers; for, if such, they would sit side by side. Seated as they are, opposite one another, with intertwining limbs, their relationship is clearly that of brother and sister, — doubtless the twin gods, Apollo and Artemis. Here Artemis, the restless huntress, carries her attribute, the torch, and is bent forward, with right hand holding her drapery, which threatens to slip off, while she looks through her brother's upraised arms at the procession. Her long, maidenly locks fall over her shoulders; and her virgin form is so little developed, as to have led some to imagine it to be that of a god. Only a shattered outline is left of all the heads of this group, but how clearly in every line of drapery and form do we read ease and grace coupled with exuberant strength!^{659a}

In the corresponding group of six great gods on the opposite, the left, side of the central sacrificial scene, we see Athena (*f*), the beloved goddess of Athens, and daughter of Zeus, seated in a place of honor, equal to that given her father. Her implements of war are laid aside, and she appears radiant in her maidenly beauty. Her hair flows freely down the back; and a long *chiton*, girded at the waist, falls over her faultless form. The lap is too high for folds of drapery alone, and on it we may discern the fringing serpents of her *ægis* partly covered by her hand.

The contrast is striking between Athena and her neighbor (*g*), who, leaning on his staff, looks back towards her. These massive shoulders and this short neck can belong to no other than the lame blacksmith-god Hephaistos, who, in the Homeric description, on leaving his forge to enter the assemblage of the Olympic deities, "wiped with a sponge his face, both hands, stout neck, and hairy chest," and caused "an inextinguishable laughter" to break "from all the blessed gods, as they beheld him laboring o'er the palace-floor," even though their assemblage had just been filled with bitter rancorings.^{659b} We almost imagine, on comparing the stately form of Zeus with this of Hephaistos, that we can see in the latter the brawny muscles swollen from labor, and the fingers crooked from long holding the hammer and tongs. Athena here grouped with the artist-god, her unsuccessful lover, corresponds to Hera with Zeus on the opposite side. It will be noticed, that monotony is avoided by alternating the position of the male and female figures, and by the different ages of the two goddesses, as well as the variety in the pose of hands and feet.

Next to Athena and Hephaistos, but separated from them by a narrow space, is a group of four deities, and the boy-god Eros, still attached to the

temple, as may be seen from Fig. 113; that they corresponded to the four youthful figures beyond Zeus and Hera on the opposite side appears from Fig. 151. In Fig. 152 this group appears on a larger scale; and we see, first, Poseidon, the ruler of the seas, his head bound about with a sacred fillet, and his locks falling as though wet, and clinging to his neck. The strongly developed forehead, the arched upper lid almost touching the eyebrow, as well as the widely opened lower one, give the god an air of self-sufficiency: but his attitude is not that of easy repose; leaning forward, as well becomes the stormy sea-god, he seems to force himself to reserve and quiet. In the raised hand,



Fig. 152. A Part of the East Frieze of the Parthenon. Athens.

as indicated by holes in the marble, he once held some symbol, doubtless a trident of bronze, it being evident that the whole frieze was finished with adjuncts of metal. Grouped with Poseidon, and apparently engaged in pleasant converse, is a god whose type, and graceful laxity of pose, have won for him from some the name of Dionysos: by others he is called Apollo.⁶⁶⁰ On his drapery we see that fluted edge, like the finished-off end of woven stuffs, a striking characteristic of the sculptures of the Pheidian age, but disappearing in those of the next century, when an exact and well-laid seam takes its place. Note the similarity and yet great diversity in these two seated figures. In one the arm is raised, with drapery gracefully falling over it. The legs are quietly crossed, and the face turned, affording a front view of its beardless features. In the other a strict profile is observed. The sandalled feet are uneasily in

motion ; one of the arms is dropped, revealing a marvellous play of skin, veins, and muscles. Heightening by contrast the beauty of these two manly forms, there follow two female figures, attended by the winged Eros. Only a part of one of these appears in the engraving ; but so noble and ravishing is its beauty, that, in its contemplation, we would hush the murmur of conjecture as to whom it represents. Let us note the grandeur of the form, the broad shoulders and strong build, not entirely hidden by the rich drapery. How exquisite the contrast between the fine, clinging folds of the *chiton*, unbuttoned, and slipping from the left shoulder, and the sweep of the heavier mantle across the lap ! Around the head is bound a kerchief, concealing a part of the hair, and reminding us much of the severer head of Philis on her tombstone, pictured in Selections, Plate II. This head-dress appears from vases sometimes to have been the house-cap of Greek women ; and if, with Flasch, we consider this figure to be the goddess Demeter, it may here mark her motherly and home character. Female servants, also, often wear it. And if this goddess represents Peitho, Aphrodite's attendant, as others would have us think, it would, perhaps, indicate her subjection to that great goddess. However this may be, this exquisite but impersonal face is one of the most precious witnesses to that ideal treatment, so pronounced in the Pheidian school, which seems to have seized the general features of beauty, and avoided portraiture or fleeting emotion. Reclining against the knee of this goddess is the form of a fascinating goddess, whose upper part, now sadly injured, in Carrey's time was still intact. This easy pose, graceful form, and rich veil, are unmistakably those of Aphrodite. Her beautiful son and constant attendant, the winged Eros, a full-grown lad, leans against her knee, holding an umbrella, while she points over his shoulder to the coming procession (Fig. 151).

The four seated figures composing this group are contrasted strongly, in their quiet repose, to the corresponding energetic and restless ones on the opposite side adjoining Zeus and Hera, as a glance at Fig. 152, and at Selections, Plate III., will prove. Standing long before the assemblage of all these gods, the eye catches, in the composition, infinite modulations of rhythm, which, like gentle diminuendos, alternate with powerful crescendos, revealing a subtle grace, transfiguring without supplanting symmetry. Thus, the full rhythm is started in the figure of Zeus, easily reclining on his throne, and is continued in the proud Hera, the position of whose arms is quietly repeated in those of Iris by her side. In the next group of the youthful gods, after a sudden break, the play of the rhythm is more energetic and abrupt, sinking away, at last, in Hermes' lowered arms. On the opposite side is a corresponding though varied play of the lines, and this conformity to rhythmic law appears also in the position of the heads. Zeus and Athena, on each side of the centre, are in profile. Beyond them come the full faces of Hera and Hephaistos, corresponding to, and contrasted with, one another.

But let us turn to the approaching procession, 'towards which Aphrodite points, and Hermes looks. Directly beyond these gods on each side, evidently unconscious of their august presence, are groups of men, perhaps magistrates of Athens, leaning on their staves, and, in true Attic style, engaging in quiet converse. Next approach maidens, walking in couples, and bearing temple and sacrificial utensils; one group being represented in Selections, Plate IV. On the one side two of the dignified men heading the procession have turned to receive these graceful maidens, the first of whom appears to have lowered her basket. Two others bear between them what seems to be a tall, slender censer. The remainder carry in the right hand flat saucers or slender vases, for use in the ritual, and mentioned in inscriptions as being of precious metal. The grace and modest dignity of these Attic girls seem to mirror the solemnity of the time and place. Only two, carrying between them a heavy censer, appear to be speaking. Though few in number, how wonderfully, by their dignified and slow advance, do they suggest a long and stately line to follow. The broad, strong shoulders, the erect pose, and rich drapery falling to the ground, give them a column-like appearance, gracefully varied by the womanly bend of the heads, and the marvellous details of arms and hands. These hands, a study in themselves, surpass all others, except perhaps those of Raphael's Madonnas, from which, however, they differ, as does classic from modern art. The costume is nearly the same throughout, but the constantly varied drapery always reflects the form with delicate shades of change. The principal garment is the long *chiton*, the upper part of which was folded over from the shoulders, and, falling to the waist, was called the *diplois*. The lower part, falling to the feet, was caught up at the waist in a baggy fold (*kolpos*). From the shoulders of many hangs behind a small additional mantle. Although the whole build of the form here, with its broad shoulders and narrow hips, has still far more of the masculine about it than the sloping, curving lines given to the female form in later days, does it not express with greater force true feminine grace and dignity? Most of the heads are, alas! gone; but the remaining fragments mark them as belonging to the same robust stock as the youths of this frieze, and show a strong relationship to the less graceful Philis head. All passion or emotion appears to lie dormant in their strongly cut faces, in harmony with the dignified style of the age. Of every one of these maidens we almost hear the ancient poet sing, as he did of Hero, the Lesbian maid, —

"As through the temple passed the Lesbian maid,
Her face a softened dignity displayed:
Thus as she shone superior to the rest,
In the sweet bloom of youth and beauty dressed,
Such softness tempered with majestic mien,
The earthly priestess matched the heavenly queen."

Beyond these maidens, and concluding the reliefs to the right, on the east side, stands one of the marshals of the procession. The corresponding closing figures to the left are lost.

Thus, as we have seen, on the front, or eastern, end of the temple, the sacrificial scene occupied the centre, set apart, as it were, by enthroned gods on either side; while men and maidens approached with a composure befitting the temple and a solemn service.

Turning the corners of the temple, we should find the procession on the long sides was in full motion towards the front. In contrast to the quiet of



Fig. 163. A Part of the South Frieze of the Parthenon. Cows led to Sacrifice. British Museum.

the front, here there was infinite variety of life and action. On each side appeared first the victims for sacrifice, cows and sheep, — on the south doubtless those brought by Athens herself to the goddess. Here cows, of which there were originally at least nine, stepped quietly forward, or struggled to break away from strong youths (Fig. 153). Even though we do not supply in imagination the bronze cords which once held them, how powerful is that group of the south side, where the youth has nearly lost his garment in the endeavor to check his wildly springing charge! The next cow catches her unruly spirit; and confusion threatens to spread in the orderly ranks, did not a fellow-attendant now come to the rescue, and seize the powerful beast by the horn.

On the north side the animals seem symbolical of the offerings from abroad,

as is indicated by the two sheep, since we know that the colonies sent hecatombs of diverse animals to the Panathenaic festival. These two sheep are choice beasts, whose fleece is expressed with marvellous dexterity by a few broad strokes. All the animals are attended by two or more youths each, who, like priests chosen for the service of the goddess, advance beside their charge with thoughtful mien, heads bowed, and, in one case, the full mantle drawn up, even over the mouth. Perhaps the usual escort of high-born youths, sent to present their cities' gifts to the Athenian shrine, are here represented.

Close upon these sacrificial beasts of the north side, to which similar



Fig. 154. A Part of the North Frieze of the Parthenon. Bearers of Vases with Liquid Offerings. Athens.

figures on the south, but now lost, doubtless corresponded, came youths bearing trays with cakes for offering, and others with heavy vases (Fig. 154). Broad, flat trays (*scaphoi*) formed a part of the treasures of the Parthenon, and were of silver or bronze. The vases having two handles, represented in the sculpture, probably contained the wine used in the Panathenaic festival; and the youths bearing them are, no doubt, aliens, who were obliged to perform the more menial part of the service. That their burdens are heavy, appears from the care in supporting the jars with both hands, while the last one even rests his for a moment on the ground. A glance at the dignified bearing, and subtle, varied beauty in the details of drapery, while the general flow is the same in all, will assure us how great a treasure was recovered when in 1833 this slab was found within the peristyle of the Parthenon. Following close, upon

the beasts of sacrifice, and offerings of cake and wine, musicians naturally had their place. In Carrey's drawings appear four flute-players, and four others striking the lyre, as from the north side, parts of which only are preserved. On the south side a corresponding group was probably also to be seen.

Thus far, on the north and south of the temple, the figures seem to have proceeded in single numbers and column-like regularity, broken only by the occasional excitement of checking an unruly beast of sacrifice. After the musicians, however, the figures were more massed. A dense group, mostly of bearded men, now appeared, partially preserved on both the north and south sides. The holes about their hands indicate that some object was once attached to them. One of the rivalries of the Panathenaic festival, according to inscriptions, concerned manly beauty. From each tribe (*phyle*) the most comely men were chosen; the wealthy among the citizens defraying the expenses of their vestments, thus performing a public service, like that of training choirs of boys, or providing other entertainment for the people. These groups may, then, represent elderly men singled out for their beauty, to bear in their hands branches of sacred olive, considered the gift of the goddess. Their dense numbers gracefully suggest the masses of the procession, which, even though it had been possible to represent it in full, would have been monotonous from the necessary repetition of perpendicular lines. A painter, by the charm of color, atmospheric effects, and perspective, may make a crowd interesting; but such picturesque treatment of masses we never find attempted in sculpture by the Greeks before the late Hellenistic age. On the north side the last of these beautiful men, startled by the advancing chariots, has nearly lost his mantle. This action breaks up the regularity of the groups, and prepares the eye for the extreme motion which follows. Four fiery steeds plunge forward, drawing a graceful two-wheeled chariot. Behind them follow a glorious parade of other chariots with prancing horses, growing more quiet, like a retiring wave towards the beginning of the line. Here the steeds are being fed by the groom, and the charioteer is awaiting his time. Of the ten chariots which originally adorned the north side, nine are partially preserved: of the eight on the south side, only five exist. Each one is accompanied by a warrior in armor, either sitting beside the charioteer, or springing off and on, keeping pace with the chariot in full motion,—feats fabled to have been introduced into the races in mythic times by the Attic hero Erichthonios. The warrior naturally ran on the left side, the other being occupied by the charioteer. This fact, like that of the girls uniformly carrying sacred vessels in the right hand, produces pleasing variety. Thus, on the north the warriors appear on the nearer side of the chariot, while on the south they are always beyond them. The long, flowing robes of the charioteers give them a resemblance to women; but on vases, coins, and several of the Mausoleum reliefs, such long-robed charioteers appear, showing that this habit was customary

with men of this profession. Among the plunging chariot-steeds, marshals keep order; their animated, graceful forms and excited drapery creating variety, and filling up the unoccupied spaces above the horses' backs.

On both the north and south sides, close upon the chariots, approached the pride of Attica's youths, mounted on fiery steeds, prancing along (Fig. 155), or standing impatient to join the rest. On the slabs of the south side this beautiful array presses somewhat uniformly forward, becoming quieter near the chariots. On those of the north side, however, the action is far more varied



Fig. 155. A Part of the North Frieze of the Parthenon. Procession of Mounted Youths. British Museum.

and intense, swelling now like a mighty wave, and, again, dying gently away. A few wear full armor; others are only partially armed; while many are clad in the simple, girded *chiton* and mantle, or the mantle alone. Sometimes they wear a crested helmet; sometimes a leathern cap similar to that common among the Persians, and which may have been adopted after the Persian war; sometimes a broad-brimmed hat; but generally they are bareheaded. Many are shod with buskins having leathern tops, which flap with the motion of the riders: others are barefooted. The seat of these riders is uniformly firm, and charmingly natural, be the horses quiet or prancing, with two, three, or even all four, feet quite off the ground; and the drapery responds to the form it covers, and the motion of the steed. In the north frieze the first few figures,

fortunately well preserved, are quietly preparing to join those already under way. Here stands a horse, by whose side the youth arranges the folds of his *chiton* with the aid of a small attendant, who bears on his shoulders the rider's mantle. Beyond this first group the figures become denser; and in the glorious riders, sometimes three, and sometimes seven, deep, the movement rapidly grows intense, and reaches its height, to subside again as it advances towards the front. In the south frieze the movement is more quiet: the riders do not appear to be so many abreast, and the horses are less spirited in the slabs preserved; but many are, unfortunately, seriously damaged. These steeds are all evidently of that breed described by the ancient horse-fancier Xenophon, when advising his friend what manner of horse to buy.⁶⁶¹ In looking at them, we almost hear his words: "Legs firm and bony, not muscular; joints flexible; the chest broad, contributing both to beauty and strength; the neck not falling forward like a boar's, but growing upwards like a cock's; head small and bony; eyes prominent and vigilant; nostrils wide, convenient for breathing, and terrific in appearance; ears small; shoulders high; loins compact; barrel round and short, and haunches high;" while, in observing the management of these steeds, we almost believe these youths to be following directions, like those given by this general when he says, "If it should happen to any owner of a horse, that, as tribune or commander of cavalry, he should have to lead a column, he should be careful, not so to display himself that he alone should have a splendid appearance, but much rather that the whole squadron should be worthy of admiration. If, having put his horse upon his mettle, he lead his troops neither too rapidly nor too slowly, but advance at a speed suitable to horses of great spirit, high courage, fine figure, and good bottom, there will be a perpetual stamping, neighing, and snorting; and not he alone, but every one in the whole line, will appear worthy of the highest admiration." This the sculptor seems also to feel, keeping alive the interest by infinite modifications of the same action seen in the playful variation of the lines, and intricacy and multiplicity of the intersecting limbs. As has been well said, "Before we have well examined one figure, another quite different diverts the attention. At one moment we are engaged in admiring a horse's forehead, and at the next the haunches of another attract our notice; the eye is rapidly hurried from one object to another; the varied forms and altered situations chase through the mind, and produce the effect of actual motion;"⁶⁶² while the order which reigns throughout gives the impression of that self-control urged by the veteran Xenophon, and more highly esteemed by the Greeks than all other accomplishments. The figures in repose show the strength which could be aroused to intense action: the rearing horse and powerful beast for offering do not drag these youths into any wild or unbridled action, and we are confident of their final mastery. Thus a sublime morality seems to speak from each marble form, telling of a firm and symmetrical character.

Passing to the west end, the rear of the temple, we should find that only one beautiful slab (Selections, Plate V.) has been removed from the Parthenon. The general quiet of this west frieze is enlivened by motion in its centre. The procession is forming, doubtless as it often did in reality, in the outer *Kerameikos*; a horse is being bridled; a marshal seems expostulating about delay; two figures tighten their sandals, and look up at those already mounted; another puts on his garments; others still stand quietly by their steeds, one of which appears to be brushing a fly off his front leg; another horseman swings a whip at his unruly beast. Here and there are couples already under way, and galloping on to join those of the north side, as we see in the first group, just before they reach the angle (Selections, Plate V.). How beautiful, in these two figures, the impatience of the steeds and the joyous self-reliance of the youths! Happily the face of one in full front view is preserved. The graceful movement of this youth as if to adjust a wreath, and the turn of the head of many another, give us charming touches of nature. The direction of the procession, diverging to pass around the two sides of the building, is without harsh disturbance of the lines ingeniously started on this west side, by a horse who breaks loose among the youths facing the north, and turns to run in the opposite direction.⁶⁶³ His keeper struggles to check him, while a comrade comes to his assistance. The line being thus broken, the eye accepts, although unconsciously, the opposite direction, soon taken by the whole of the procession along the south side. This masterly group of the rearing horse and his keeper may have suggested the similar motive of the "Horse Tamers," on Monte Cavallo at Rome. This and other figures from the frieze seem to have been familiar motives; since they appear on various later monuments, such as the Nereid monument, and also on vases and terra-cottas.⁶⁶⁴

In these fascinating rows of horsemen, no two sit just alike. The usual pose is in profile, but at intervals riders break the uniformity by turning the body to speak or beckon to those following. Note the back of a rider from whose shoulders the mantle has fallen, or the front of the one who looks back, and raises his hand to his head as if to adjust his wreath (Selections, Plate V.). The perfectly easy and natural manner in which the hands are used is a beautiful study in itself. Sometimes they stroke caressingly the mane, as if to quiet the fiery steed; again, they pull the ear, the horse's most sensitive part; or swing the whip; or, as in the majority of cases, simply hold the bridle. All this is done with such subtle and beautiful variations in attitude, and in pose of arms and fingers, as to make their study a true delight, showing us how simple and yet effective the changes made on a single theme. The farther feet of only a few of the horsemen are given, the great majority being apparently covered by the nearer foot, or perhaps originally indicated by color, of which, however, no traces are now to be found. Wherever given, the farther foot is rendered with great skill; and its omission cannot possibly be an

oversight, but may rather have been intended to avoid confusion in the composition where the ranks were several figures deep. This explanation, however, does not suffice for the single horseman, where also frequently but one foot is to be seen.

Throughout the reliefs of this frieze, neither sameness nor conventionality marks the nude. A suitable proportion is preserved between the broad, strong shoulders and the loins, which are never too meagre, as was often the case in earlier art. The muscles are decided, though expressed without that display of the anatomical structure, met with in later art. On the other hand, the generalization of the broader surfaces to a neglect of detail, seen in the older style, is no longer visible. The veins, in their intricate network, and the subtle tissues and rich folds of the skin, are rendered in the horses' strong forms, as well as in those of youths and maidens. These details are, however, so skilfully subordinated to the whole, that they never thrust themselves into the foreground, to detract from the general impression. The drapery, with its graceful, undulating border, has lost all traces of stiffness, and, besides, thoroughly reflects the form beneath. True to its nature, it never seems executed on its own account, or shows the trivially elaborate folds and surfaces often met with in later times. Thus, in these reliefs, there is a golden mean between the excessive generality and conventionalism of the earlier, and the pronounced individuality and realism of the later, styles. The master, imbued with the beautiful nature which surrounded him, has caught from her fleeting moments exquisite tones of ease and grace,—the bend of the head, the quick movement of the body, the stroking of the mane, the adjusting of a garment, and the like; but he has moulded the whole into truly ideal forms, pervaded by a sense of the noblest artistic style. In the few faces preserved, there is a grandeur and simplicity, combining the last faint echo of the olden time with a new and freer life. The shape of the skull, round rather than square, is full and faultless; the ear correctly placed; the eye perfectly shaped, as well in profile as in front view, but not deeply set, as in later art; while the chin is strong, and the neck gracefully poised. No archaic precision is evident in the treatment of beard or hair; nor are they, on the other hand, luxuriant, but exceedingly simple. Little individuality or emotion is, besides, expressed by these gods, sages, warriors, and maidens; for the joyous healthfulness of a harmonious being alone pervades them all. They seem to us elevated by their sublime nature above the ills of ordinary mortals. As the wounds of the Homeric gods were said to have healed without leaving a scar; so, on the faces of the gods and mortals of the Parthenon frieze, the expressions of passion, love, sorrow, or anger seem to have passed over, leaving no traces of their power. And all this life, grace, and subtle detail is given in relief much less than four inches in depth; so that we constantly ask ourselves how this multitude of figures, this intricate tracery of veins, and gently flowing skin, could have been

expressed on so flat a plane, and still be as clear as limpid water, and as truthful as nature. This lowness of the relief was, moreover, eminently appropriate for the running, border-like character of the frieze. The surface-plane is everywhere uniform, the background alone being varied by unequal depth. None of those unpleasant projecting parts, seeming to start out from the general level, occur, which are often met with in Roman and mediæval works. The relief of the upper parts of the figures is more pronounced than that of the lower, doubtless to counterbalance any unpleasant perspective which might have been felt by those looking up from the colonnades below. The uniformly gentle elevations, with subdued light and shade, assist the eye in its passage from one scene to the other, and make this frieze admirably suited for its place as an encircling band in the architecture. The relief is, moreover, truly sculptural, but without the harshness of many archaic works; there being added here a pictorial element evident in the groupings, as well as in the subtle grading of the shadows of the nude and the drapery. Foreshortening is sparingly used: and the profile view, better suited to relief, is generally employed; while it is pleasantly varied at intervals by a form in full front view. No meaningless figures are introduced simply to fill up the vacant space. This is often occupied in an exceedingly interesting and simple manner, by giving riders and footmen an equal height. This deviation from life (*isokephalia*) we have noticed in early Greek art, where, however, it was most crudely employed. Here the archaic tradition is retained without its suggestion of untruth and exaggeration. This height of the figures, besides, is often used to express distinctions of rank. Thus, the seated gods are larger than the standing figures of men; and, of the latter, the menials are smaller than the rest. Among the youths, the grooms are smaller than their masters. The relief was doubtless enhanced by a background of color; and many of the appurtenances, such as the trappings, the olive-branches, and attributes of the gods, were of bronze. A difference is noticeable between different parts of the frieze in the excellence of the carving, and use of these adjuncts. In many cases, that of the south side is sketchy and unfinished, several of the horses having their manes simply blocked out. On the west frieze, the first marshal is inferior to all the other figures; while the horse, brushing off a fly, seems scarcely to belong among the rest, so meagre are his proportions. A few of the limbs of men and horses were, evidently, first made too slight, and the mistakes afterwards remedied, in part, by tracing a deep outline around the faulty parts, and by cutting the background away, as in the case of a youth of the west side, with a broad-brimmed hat, and bridling his horse. But the skilfulness of execution of these reliefs, as a whole, is astonishing, especially when we consider that they were probably carved after the slabs were built into the temple-walls, and not, according to the custom now prevalent, in the sculptor's convenient studio. This is indicated by parts of figures on different slabs, which could not have

been matched so exactly had they been carved separately, as well as by the analogy of other ancient works; as, for instance, the sculptures of the Zeus temple at Olympia, and the reliefs of the Nereid monument, which also bear marks of having been executed on the wall. This manner of working doubtless accounts for much of the delightful harmony in composition and detail which makes this picture of a bringing of offerings one of the sublimest of votive sculptures to the gods.

THE PEDIMENTS.

But leaving this charming, quiet scene, where Athenians are seen doing honor to their divinities, and which encircled the *cella*-walls, let us consider the sculptures in the pediments of the temple. The front of the Parthenon faced the east, where lay the mountains and plain of Attica; while its opposite end looked off over the sparkling bay, where the ships passed in and out. Pausanias saw the sculptures raised high up in these two pediments; but, with his pious regard for myth alone, he only tells us, "that the sculptures over the entrance all related to the birth of Athena, and those at the other end to her successful contest with Poseidon for the possession of Attica," thus, we see, illustrating two great articles of faith in the Attic religion.⁶⁶⁵ In these pediments, triangular spaces 28.36 meters (93 feet) long, 3.456 meters (11 feet) high at the central and loftiest point, and 94 centimeters (about three feet) deep, were no less than forty-four colossal statues in Pentelic marble. Of these only fifteen large fragments are preserved, — thirteen of them being in the British Museum; two, ruined almost beyond recognition, still in the pediment; while many other smaller fragments are divided between Athens and London.

In the EAST PEDIMENT, Pausanias saw represented the birth of Athena; but, alas! a yawning gap, many feet long, now occupies all its centre, as it did in Carrey's time, as may be seen from his drawing (Fig. 156). Conjecture is unable to charm back the creation of Pheidias, and tell us how the mythical birth of the goddess was represented, — whether Zeus here awaited the issue of his daughter from his head, or whether she had already appeared, "golden, all



radiant, in warlike armor clad, the wonder of the assembled gods," as she is described in Homeric hymn.^{665a} That Pheidias should have pictured the scene in the naïve style of old black-figured vases, where Athena, a puppet in full armor, has half-way issued from the head of Zeus, while Hephaistos or Prometheus stands by with the axe that has given the blow on the Thunderer's head, is inconsistent with the prevailing style of the Parthenon sculptures. Neither is it probable, judging from the excited fragments, that the portentous moment before the birth was chosen when Athena was still awaited. The conjecture which has most in its favor is, that, "near her father, Pallas Athena, all radiant," appeared, to rejoice the surrounding gods. In Madrid a *puteal* has recently come to light which represents the scene more worthily

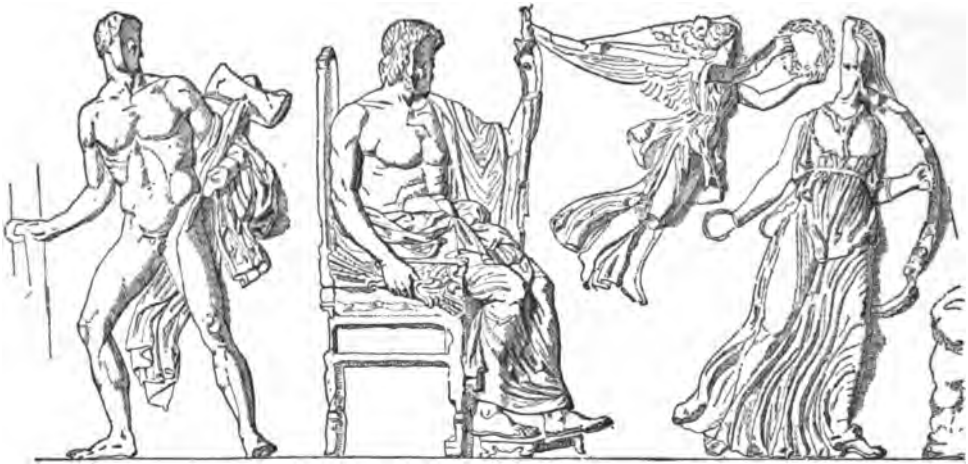


Fig. 157. *The Birth of Athena. Part of a Relief from a Puteal. Madrid.*

than any object hitherto discovered, and may perhaps remotely echo Pheidias' composition, although varied from the sloping group of the pediment, and adapted to a relief of equal width (Fig. 157).⁶⁶⁶ Here Zeus is quietly seated; Athena glides rapidly away to his left, crowned by Nike; and Hephaistos, or more probably Prometheus, starts back astonished at the sight of what his blow has brought forth. From the original central group of the Parthenon pediment, one colossal torso, now in Athens, is the only fragment certainly preserved. The powerful back, protruding shoulders, and upraised stumps of arms, can have belonged only to him who gave the blow, — probably Prometheus. These fragmentary arms suggest either the raising of the axe to give the blow which should release Athena, or, more probably, the blow having been given, they are checked in mid-air by the god, astonished at the sight of the "cerulean-eyed goddess."

Concerning the remaining figures from the extremities of this pediment, conjecture has been most busy. Twenty-one different theories, at least, exist;

but still the question must be considered unsettled.⁶⁶⁷ One point is clear, that, as on the pedestal of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, the rising Helios and sinking Selene bounded the scene of Aphrodite's birth; so here, on one side the fiery steeds of Helios plunged snorting out of the water, and, on the other, those of Selene watchfully descended into the deep (Fig. 156). Helios and his four steeds occupied the extreme left of the pediment: two of the latter are still in Athens, and two are in London. The horses are represented as coming up out of the ocean, whose conventional marble-waves, doubtless once covered with blue or golden color, still play about the god's neck and powerful arms, which scarce control the fiery steeds of the breaking day, plunging impetuously out of the depths into the ether above. They seem to shake from their proud heads the ocean-foam, and we almost hear their impatient snort. Holes in the mane, behind the ear, indicate that the bridle and reins were of metal. The muscles of the arms which once held them are delicately but strongly given, with a masterly tracery of veins, even on the inner unseen side. The rhythm of the whole comes out, even when standing at the back of Helios, who appears to be fairly drawn up out of the waves by his powerful steeds: while, in front, the loss of his face detracts somewhat from the force of the motion. At the other extremity of the pediment was Selene, the goddess of night, guiding carefully her chariot on its downward way. Her head was turned, looking back, thus uniting her with the rest of the group. Here, again, arms and head are gone; but the body, bent forward, clad in the charioteer's costume, — a long *chiton* girded at the waist, and secured by straps across the chest, — indicates her direction. A fluttering mantle, traces of which still exist, swelled out behind, making clearer this idea of motion; while the caution with which she descended into unseen depths must have appeared in her form, bent watchfully forward, and arms extended, holding tightly the reins. Her steeds — one in London and the other in Athens — seem shy of the dark abyss. The animated, protruding eye and distended nostril of the one in the British Museum show intensity of watchful action.⁶⁶⁸ His head was dropped partly over the cornice; thus breaking, in a masterly manner, the rigid architectural lines. It is marked by a strong, bony frame, length of proportion, and a subtle, delicate treatment of the skin. Compared with horses' heads of both earlier and later periods, — instance those from Olympia or the Mausoleum, — it is truly sublime. In the earlier of these, though often natural and interesting, we are continually reminded that the horses are of stone; and, in those of later times, there is a lack of ideality, suggesting forcibly the dray or war horse, thoroughly subjected to the human will. But these fiery beasts of the Parthenon, we seem to feel, could be controlled by superhuman hands alone.

But let us study the figures of the goddesses themselves, to the right and left of the central group (Selections, Plate VI., and Fig. 156). A wind-fleet figure first meets us, perhaps the rainbow Iris of Homeric verse, who, in her

lightning speed, knew not time or space, and in art is usually represented as winged. This goddess hastens, doubtless, to announce to all the joyous news of Athena's birth. The head, as indicated by the break of the neck, was turned towards the scene whence she came; and, by this, her office of messenger seems made plain. Her girlish, undeveloped form is beautifully echoed by the simple folds of her *chiton*, which cling to her breast, and, blowing out into grand masses below, open on one side, revealing gracefully her limb and foot still poised in air. This goddess catches her mantle, which, swollen by the wind, seems to assume the significant form of a rainbow. The figure seated next to her becomes aware that she approaches, joyfully intent on her distant errand. At first glance it might seem as though this seated goddess raised her arm in surprise, and is about to rise; but her right foot, poised on the side, shows that this cannot be the case, as will be readily perceived if the experiment be tried. The raised arm probably held an attribute. The turn of the head, traceable in the neck, and the whole movement of this seated figure, reveal her interest in the good news, as she communicates it to her companion, who sits with one hand in her lap, and one resting affectionately on the other's shoulder, her head being turned as if to listen. These two seated goddesses are possibly Demeter and Core,—that mother and daughter who enjoyed especial honor in Attica. Both are seated, not on rocks, but square thrones, over which is laid folded drapery; and both wear the long, girded *chiton* of a heavy material, which shows wondrously the majestic forms, as it falls in rich folds over the bosoms and about the waists; their mantles, apparently of the same texture, and with a gently undulating border, utter a harmony inexpressible in words, as they are thrown across the ample shoulders, and sweep around the bended limbs in graceful and strong masses, affording, by lights and deep shadows, a contrast delightful and restful to the eye. It is noteworthy, that, for some unknown reason, the sculptor has seen fit, in the larger of these figures, to contract the parts about the middle; so that the body seems short,—a peculiarity met with in very many seated figures of Greek art, and which we have noticed in the case of the relief of Philis (Selections, Plate II.). Viewed from the back, this Parthenon group is no less attractive than from the front. The round, mellow contours of the arms, which once followed the slope of the pediment, contrast pleasantly with the upright sweep of the drapery, and the quiet of the forms; their significant pose revealing, besides, the affection that existed between these goddesses.

Following these draped female forms, on a rocky elevation, over which is thrown a skin, reclines a powerful, nude youth (Fig. 158), occupying that corner of the pediment where, as the chariot of Helios emerged from the waves, his rays would first be cast (compare Fig. 156). This figure, of heroic build, has been called, in turn, Theseus, Heracles, and Dionysos. But its vigorous type and semi-active attitude seem most appropriate to the personification of

a mountain, thought by Brunn to be sacred Olympus, the local seat of the gods, and scene of Athena's birth, illumined by the first rays of the rising sun.⁶⁶⁹ The head still rests upon the powerful shoulders, showing that manly beauty belonging to Attic art in the time of Pheidias. The skull has those strong, square proportions peculiar to intellectually superior races ; and the face, with its fulness about the chin and cheeks, is a round oval, not the pointed one of the Æginetan heads. The forehead is enlivened by a gentle projection of the frontal bone above the nose, which, however, is not, as in later heads, extended

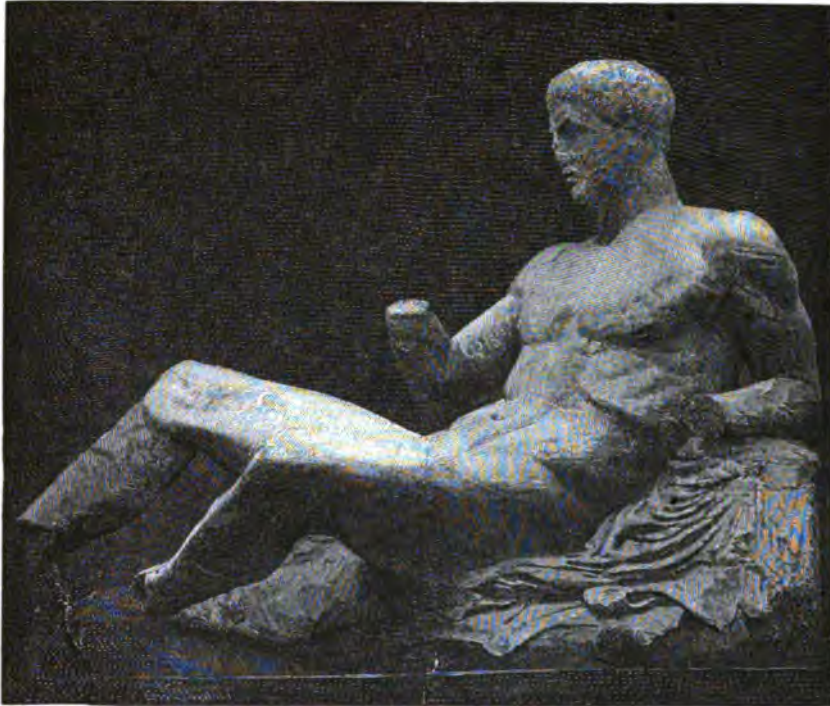


Fig. 168. A Seated God, perhaps Olympus, from the South End of the East Pediment of the Parthenon. British Museum.

towards the temples. There is no luxurious sweep of the lower jaw, as in the Apollo Belvedere : it is more upright and chaste in its outlines. The neck is strong and columnar, and quite suited to bear such a head. Contrast these massive shoulders, this broad chest, with the liquid form of the well-known river-god of the west pediment (Selections, Plate IV.), and the tremendous power of this rocky character will appear. The harmony of its proportions is so subtle and overpowering, that, though strict anatomical precision is sometimes disregarded, as where one collar-bone is found to be shorter than the other, our admiration is thereby only increased for the genius which has given the spirit without being bound by the letter. One knee projected ten inches beyond the cornice, thus breaking the architectural lines, which might have seemed too rigidly to confine the composition ; while the other lines of the statue, as would

appear were the feet still attached, quietly fell in with those of the pediment towards its declining angle. This form, of such ideal beauty and strength, has inspired many modern sculptors, among whom none has better expressed its sublimity than the great Dannecker, who wrote concerning it, "This statue is so true to nature, that one is tempted to say the master must have formed his model directly on the limbs and body of some beautiful youth; and yet," he adds, "no such heroic youth ever meets us, or ever could have walked the earth."⁶⁷⁰

But the group of all groups occupies the opposite end of the pediment (Selections, Plate VI. and Figs. 156 and 159). These statues, like the Olympos, have



Fig. 150. Triad, perhaps the Clouds, from the North End of the East Pediment of the Parthenon. British Museum.

received many different names. The Fates, the daughters of Kecrops, Hestia, Peitho, and Aphrodite, are some of them. But, again, Brunn offers so poetical an interpretation, that we are tempted to receive it, especially as it harmonizes with the character of the statues, and the place they occupy, next to Selene, the goddess of night.⁶⁷¹ He considers them personifications of the graceful, fleeting clouds gathering about the setting sun. By a recent correction in the placing of the reclining figure, in conformity with its original position in the pediment, lines of unexpected beauty in the composition of Pheidias have been revealed to us. These appear in the bended form and deeper shadows of the central figure, as contrasted with the erect and lighter ones of the first, and the flowing form of the third; and this will best be seen in the phototype taken from the group in its new position (Selections, Plate VI.). The figure nearest the centre of the pediment, and looking towards the scene of Athena's birth,

seems to catch life from what there takes place, and is about to rise from her rocky seat. She wears a fine, soft under-garment, which is rendered, even in its larger oblique folds between the breasts, with masterly simplicity and grace. Her heavier mantle, thrown around the form and across the lap, seems ready to be lifted by the first gust, so easy is its fall. Each broad fold can be traced to its faint beginning, and each deep shadow is as exquisitely rendered as though done with a painter's subtle power. The glorious form of womanhood in its perfect maturity is not lost in this drapery, but rather by it enhanced in beauty. The grandeur of the shoulders, neck, and bended form, the natural curve and ease of the remaining toe of the sandalled but shattered foot, reveal how great is our loss in the lack of head and arms. The feeling of the living, throbbing form under the drapery, as well as the harmonious contrast between the large folds of the mantle and the finer tissues of the *chiton*, are to be obtained even from the back of the statue, — a view which could not have been enjoyed when it was raised high up in its place in the pediment.

What inexpressible beauty marks the remaining figures of the triad! Here seems held up to view the intimacy of the gods. One, reclining, rests on the bosom of a sister goddess, who, bending forward, draws in her feet to make more easy the repose of her charge, besides encircling her with one arm. How rich, in this statue, is the plastic truth in each detail! and with what enthusiastic love for his work has the sculptor carried the finish, to the deepest recesses about the feet, which, even as the statues now stand, are almost lost to view, and must have been entirely beyond inspection when they were elevated in the pediment! But, if these sister statues are so ravishing in beauty, what shall be said of the reclining figure? When Carrey saw the group, this goddess gazed off towards Selene's steeds, her very thought and attitude in harmony with the quiet of coming evening, and gently suiting the slope of the pediment. Majesty of form is here combined with ethereal grace, re-echoed interminably in the countless quietly fluttering folds of the drapery. There exists here a most subtle tenderness, as well as an exquisite harmony between the form and the folds through which the marble glows with life. Seen in a fresh cast, with its unsullied lights and shadows deepening around the waist and limbs, and growing broader and more quiet in the drapery thrown over the rock, this group seems, not material, but a dream of beauty and queenly majesty which must vanish from our sight. Viewed from whatever point, unlike most groups of sculpture, new and charming lines reveal themselves. No fold is laid simply to break an ugly line, or for effect; but each falls as the nature of the material requires, and each exquisite detail is held subordinate to the higher ends of the work. So admirably are these sculptures adapted to the unswerving architectural lines of the pediment, that even these seem made to do the sculptor's bidding. The limitations placed upon Pheidias, as was the case with Raphael in frescoing the *Stanze* of the Vatican, seem only to have

quicken and ennoble the play of his imagination. The symmetry striven for in earlier Greek sculpture is most skilfully maintained in the composition, but is veiled by such contrasts as the plunging steeds on one side over against the cautious ones on the other, and the majestic nude Olympos counterpoised by the fluttering drapery and delicious form of the gently reclining goddess at the other end of the pediment.

In the WEST PEDIMENT of the Parthenon, Pheidias represented another favorite article of faith with the people of Attica. It concerned Athena's taking possession of their land. According to legend, both the "blue-eyed Pallas" and broad-shouldered Poseidon desired to own the goodly land of Attica, and to receive the worship of its people. A competition between the rival claimants having been decided upon, an assemblage of the great gods, at which Kekrops, the mythic king of Athens, was present, determined to give over Attica in possession to the one who should confer the greatest blessing on the land. Poseidon, swinging his trident with those arms which compelled the sea to obedience, struck the adamant rock of the Acropolis, and on its summit, five hundred feet above the bay, a salt-water spring welled up, which felt the tides and storm of the ocean below. According to still other story, a horse also sprang from the rock. What greater wonder was there then left for the goddess to perform? She now showed her power, but combined with beneficence, and caused a fruitful olive-tree to spring up on the rocky height of the Acropolis, the parent-stem of all Attica's olive-groves. Her gift, promising wealth in house and store, won the day over Poseidon; and the land was awarded to Athena. According to one story, she immediately took possession; Poseidon withdrawing to the seas, where, in his rage, he mercilessly lashed the Attic shores, causing marshes to cover much of the land. Athena's tree, within the precincts of her temple, was honored through all generations, and was said, miraculously, never to have shed its leaves, and, even when burned to the ground by the Persians, to have shot forth long branches in a single night,—a sign that the goddess had not forsaken her people. Poseidon's salt-spring was also long protected by a second temple on the Acropolis, tokens of the double miracle being thus preserved to late times.

How Pheidias represented this myth, and who were the witnesses to the strife, are questions the solution of which conjecture has sought to wring from the fragments now even less complete than those of the east pediment. When Carrey, in 1674, saw the sculptures, they were, however, far more complete; and, with the aid of his drawing (Fig. 160), we gain much light upon the general composition. From the drawing, we see, in the middle of the pediment, Athena and Poseidon moving in opposite directions. Fragments of an olive-tree, found on the Acropolis, indicate that the miracle had already been performed, and that the tree probably stood between them. Athena's chariot and steeds were seen by Carrey, suggesting that the antagonists were withdrawing to their chariots

on each side ; but Poseidon's corresponding steeds were already gone, and they must needs be supplied to counterpoise those of Athena's on the opposite side. This would be required by the Greek sense of symmetrical composition, and harmonizes with the Homeric pictures of the gods, as always attended by their chariots when going into conflict. Careful study on the part of Overbeck and Lange, in 1879, of the fragments in London, and of casts from other fragments in Athens, has finally decided the much-vexed question of Poseidon's steeds.⁶⁷² They were not semi-sea monsters, but complete horses with four hoofs. Fragments of good size, adapted to the wall of the pediment, were the treasures which gave the key to this secret. Whether Poseidon's salt-spring appearing at his feet was also represented, and whether he was accompanied by an upspringing horse, it is impossible to say with certainty. It is probable, however, that only the spring was represented ; since the space would hardly have admitted a third horse in addition to the two of Poseidon's chariot.⁶⁷³ Of the majestic, excited form of Athena, which must have been well-nigh 3.35 meters (eleven feet) high, the powerful shoulders, now in the British Museum, alone exist. These shoulders and full form are clad in rich drapery, over which the *ægis*, folded like a narrow band, passes obliquely across the bosom, its lower edge scalloped, and having holes where once bronze serpents' heads were doubtless attached. How different this weapon on this majestic, threatening figure of the goddess from that worn by her in early representations, where its ugly shape covers much of her bosom, and all of her shoulders ; and even from the *ægis* on the shoulders of Pheidias' own Athena Parthenos ! From a fragment of the neck recently discovered, it is clear that Athena turned towards her formidable antagonist ; but, unhappily, no parts of her head are preserved. A head of harsh archaic forms and wiry hair, as though executed in bronze, was once thought to belong to this figure, but has long since been rejected ; as these pedimental sculptures are all eminently true to the technique of marble, and without a breath of archaic conventionalism or stiffness.

Just beyond Athena reared her steeds, impatient to

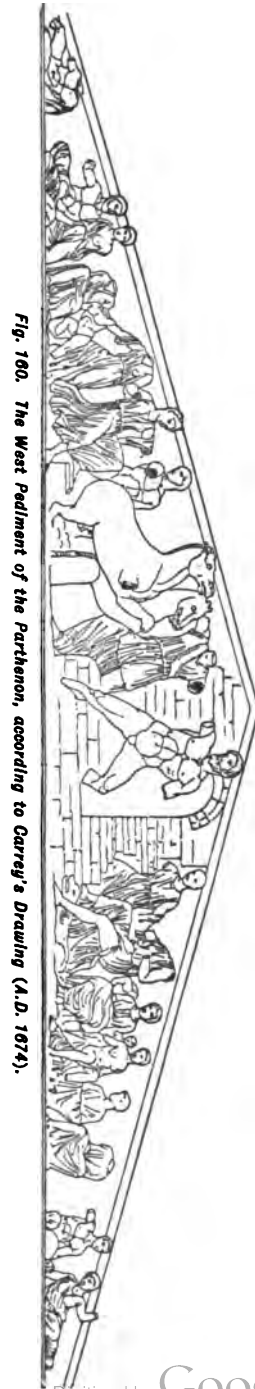


Fig. 100. The West Pediment of the Parthenon, according to Carrey's Drawing (A.D. 1874).

depart. The tragic fate which met them, on being lowered from the pediment by the Venetians, has already been alluded to. Fragments, casts of which are in the Elgin room, powerful even in their ruin, still await re-adjustment, if that be possible. Athena's charioteer, perhaps Nike, has perished; but the torso of the youth accompanying her, thought to be Hermes, and who is often represented on vases as attending Athena's chariot, is preserved in the Elgin room. This powerful athletic frame, in intense action, with drapery still clinging to the back, is a most interesting counterpart to the Olympos of the east pediment, who is equally strong, but in perfect repose. Thus Athena, Poseidon, and the chariots, filled up gloriously the centre of the pediment; making, as it were, the ruling strain in this powerful symphony transferred into enduring marble.

To the right of Athena's chariot came many figures, all sharing in the excitement emanating from the centre. These have received many conjectural names, Brunn supposing them to personify the cliffs and shores of Attica. The older and more generally accepted theory, however, is, that they are Attic gods. Following Carrey's drawings, we find that the first group was composed of two females, — which have been called Demeter and Core, — and a child in excited motion, — perhaps Iacchos. Of this group no trace is left; while the next, which consists of a youthful female and an elderly man, on whose shoulder she leans, is still in the pediment, but is so sadly mutilated, that its forms are barely recognizable. The coil of a serpent, seen under the right of the group, may be intended to characterize here either the earth-born Kecrops with one of his daughters, or Asclepios with Hygieia, all of whom were worshipped in Attica.

Beyond this group is a space, which in Carrey's drawing is left vacant, but, in one made by Dalton, is filled by a crouching figure, perhaps a local nymph. In the extreme corner reclines a local river-god, whose glorious form is now in the British Museum (Selections, Plate IV.). From his beautifully extended form, this figure is supposed to represent the Kephissos, a stream which flows in a direct course through the north of Attica, from Mount Kithairon to the sea. The figure of this Attic river-god seems confined to its rocky base, like running waters within their bed; but, catching the excitement rippling out to him from the stormy centre, he raises himself up on one arm. The elevation of the shoulders and knees, alternating with the sinking of the body and the retreating legs, suggest well the wavy lines of water. The very drapery, slipping from the arm, lies on the marble as though floating helplessly upon water; and the straight line of the thigh, almost melting into one with the base, goes to enhance the ideal of a river-god. The contrast between this liquid form, with all its softness, and exquisite treatment of skin, and the massive, rocky, firm frame of the Olympos of the opposite pediment, shows a degree of skill in characterization scarcely to be met with elsewhere in the whole range of ancient sculpture.

Turning from this jubilant retinue of Athena, to Poseidon and his followers

in the opposite side of the pediment, we shall find, that, of the extant fragments of the mighty torso of the god, parts are in London, and the remainder in Athens. From Carrey's drawing, we judge that Poseidon drew back indignant, and perhaps astonished, as he saw his rival's olive-tree spring from the soil; or else that he is retreating from her weapons. The mighty shoulders and arm, the powerful front, and now dismembered portions of legs and foot, with their distended muscles and swollen veins, speak most strongly the character of him who lashed the seas to fury, and made the solid earth tremble at his wrath. Here the mortal form, without being exaggerated, is intensified; and could this shattered trunk, these scattered fragments, be re-adjusted, what tremendous and dire power they would express!

But few relics of Poseidon's retinue are left. His steeds are indicated to us by well-nigh shapeless fragments. The draped figure which, according to Carrey's drawing, accompanied this chariot, corresponding to the male runner of the opposite side by Athena's chariot, is possibly preserved to us in a fragment of a winged figure now in the British Museum, but by some is thought to belong in the east pediment.⁶⁷⁴ There can be little doubt that it is Nike, the goddess of Victory, by reason of the signs of attachment for wings in the back of the statue; and, if Nike, we must suppose her hastening to the side of the goddess with whom was victory. Her rapid motion is shown by the sweep of her short *chiton*, and the graceful poise of her left knee, the recent adjustment of which, by Professor Newton, has greatly enhanced the beauties of this fragmentary statue. Viewed from its left side, a wealth of graceful motives and lines reveals itself, not seen in front, making it probable that this Nike once faced the middle of the pediment. The drapery, clinging to the form in consequence of the rapid motion, differs essentially from that of the figures of the east pediment, having small, sharp lines, resembling creases, over it, and indicating that different hands were engaged on these statues. The torso of Poseidon's charioteer, doubtless the sea-goddess Amphitrite, wearing a *chiton* girded by a broad belt, and bent forward as if holding firmly the reins, still exists in the British Museum. This fragment, like many others, must be seen alone to be fully appreciated; being lost, as it were, in the superabundance of beauty crowded into the Elgin room.

Beyond Poseidon's chariot, we see, from the drawing, that there was a seated female with a child beside her, perhaps Leucothea, and Palaimon, her son. A fragment of the limbs of the sea-goddess Leucothea, with exquisitely agitated drapery, like waters ruffled by a surface-wind, is now in the Elgin room. Of the boy, a part of the left thigh only is preserved; while three of his fingers may be traced on the mother's right knee, resting on a bit of her drapery. Besides these, there are other signs on the mother's form that the child faced her right side, and pressed affectionately against her. The follow-

ing group, seen by Carrey, consisted of two seated draped females, one of whom supported on her lap another, a nude companion, while beside them was a child; but, of these, only one small fragment is preserved, being a part of the first draped seated figure. These are, perhaps, a Nereid and Thalassa, who bears the nude Aphrodite accompanied by her son Eros. That this Aphrodite, the only known nude female form in sculpture of the time of Pheidias, although in vases frequently met, is gone, is an irreparable loss; as it would have taught us how that sublime age represented this difficult subject.

In the remoter corner are two local gods, — the first a crouching river-god, now in Athens, whose position is thought to represent the crooked windings of the Ilissos in the south of Attica; while the adjoining recumbent figure of the extreme corner is thought to represent the sacred spring Callirrhoë, which in reality takes its rise in the bed of the Ilissos.

Glancing at the composition of this pediment, as preserved to us by Carrey, we find strict symmetry, but veiled so as scarcely to be recognized. The action does not flow outward, as in the very ancient Megara pediment at Olympia; nor does it flow inward, as in the Ægina marbles, or seem confused, as in the west pediment at Olympia, but combines with greatest clearness most varied movements. The rise and fall is such, that it seems altogether independent of the stern architectural lines bounding it; and the diagonal lines of the sculpture break the impression of threatening weight made by the sloping eaves of the cornice. Of all the heads seen by Carrey, not one is with certainty preserved to us. One marble head sadly restored, now in Paris, from the Venetian collection of San Gallo, Morosini's private secretary, is thought by some to approach the Parthenon sculptures in character; but its deeply set eyes, dimpled chin, loosely falling hair, and pathetic expression, are strong reasons for believing that it belongs to the century after Pheidias. Doubtless the head of the draped Aphrodite, now in Berlin, and which we have associated with Alcámenes' name, Plate II., comes nearer to what these heads must have been; showing us, in its grand reserve and exquisite tenderness, a style quite worthy of these torsos, and very like that of the preserved heads of the frieze.

In looking over both pedimental groups, we find, that, while different hands must have been employed in the execution of the individual statues, there is not that great difference in excellence which characterized the Æginetan pediments. Many Attic sculptors of this time must have been possessed of astonishing skill in carrying out conceptions, emanating, we must believe, from one master-mind, whose imagination here displays a richness of creative power unsurpassed. This imagination conceived, as we have seen, the strong youth in action and repose; the queenly beauty draped, reclining or seated; the girlish form in swift motion; nude and draped female shapes, leaning forward, and guiding proud steeds; children, river-gods, and the shapes of the powerful "earth-shaker," and others of the mighty gods; while it has blended all into har-

monious composition, like to that of a sublime symphony in music. The architectural difficulties to be surmounted were the same as in the pediments of the Æginetan temple or in those at Olympia. There we found symmetry marred by monotony. Here we have found it, but so subtly veiled, as only to be perceived after careful scrutiny. In Ægina and Olympia we found human, here godlike, shapes, which, to use Newton's words, "seem the result of a generalization so profound, that, in contemplating them, we almost forget that they are the product of human thought, and executed by human hands: they seem to reveal to us the very archetypes of form, such as we might conceive to dwell in the mind of a divine Creator."⁶⁷⁵ In every colossal form the importance of the framework, that prime essential of true sculpture, is felt and expressed with marvellous truth, even where it might least be expected, as in the lax frame of the river-god. The massive shoulders are not out of proportion to the waist: the head is not too small, nor the limbs too long, as was found to be the case in the Æginetan and Olympia art. The rounded muscles, in which the harsh outlines of older art have disappeared, seem capable of expansion, and are clearly distinguished from the sinewy tendons as about the knees and elbows. Sculptural truth, essentially opposed to slurring or slovenly treatment, is, moreover, obvious in all the details. The skin, with its delicate tracery of veins, and subtle, adipose tissue like a half-transparent veil, at once conceals and reveals the sharp, underlying forms, and in each varying part has its natural character; so in the inside of the hand, how different from on the outside! and over the muscles most in action, how different from over those usually in repose! Note but the folds of skin of the Olympos or Kephißos: with what a bold treatment and handling of the chisel do they seem, with a few strokes, to stand perfect before our eyes! Seek through the statuary of Roman times swarming the galleries, or gaze even at the newly found Pergamon marbles, which, with an astonishing bravour in technique, show a greater monotony of skin and surface, and the equals of these Parthenon works will not be found. The rich, full life in these marbles, expressed in form and surface, raises them high above such cold academic works as the Apollo Belvedere, in praise of which Winckelmann said,—

"Coursing veins warm not this frame to living glow,
Nor sinewy joints impart the rich, harmonious flow;"

for these marbles have revealed a far higher and truer standard than the works with which the great pioneer of archæology was familiar. This rendition of the skin, and gentler forms about the muscles, is, moreover, never marred by laxity or superabundant fat, often to be met with in the best colossal works of later times: instance the celebrated Torso Belvedere of the Vatican, in which we look in vain for energetic expression in the flabby blending of outlines. Contrasted with the more energetic Laocoön, we find here no exaggeration of

single muscles into "small hills," as is the case with that excited, struggling group; and, compared with the marbles of the Pergamon altar, there is a subtle discrimination in the use of artistic means, which grows upon one the longer the details are studied.

The mechanical movements of the Æginetan figures here give place to intense throbbing life, echoed even by the folds of the drapery. In this, the advance is greater, if possible, even than in the nude. In earlier works, the drapery had failed to reflect every play of muscle or motion, which is, however, done here, and without caprice or superficiality. The folds obey the laws which control their texture. As that is heavy or light, they fall, or fly out on the wind. But they do not yet seem executed on their own account, being only present to heighten the beauty of the form. Thus, no mere accidentals of surface appear. There are no squarely broken corners where the drapery turns, eyes (*occhi*), as the Italians call them; nor wrinkles on its plain surfaces, as in drapery of the next century, striving to make stone a nearer counterfeit of real cloth: instance the folds of Praxiteles' Hermes. In short, there is in the drapery of the Parthenon a sublime simplicity and reserve of treatment, a dignity and truth of line, never elaborated or arranged for commonplace effect. Thus it receives a look almost severe, when contrasted with the extreme refinement of treatment in the following ages.

But a regard for what may be called a pictorial impression in these marbles enhances the subtle variety of their lines, their peculiar lights and shades adapting them admirably to be the united decoration of a temple pediment. By its working they are prevented from having the too statuesque and isolated look of the Æginetan works; and by a wise limitation, all blurred, or too pictorial, effects, as in the west pediment at Olympia, are also avoided.

With all the fascinating naturalness pervading these statues, it were vain to seek for signs that they were copied from nature, as she happens to present herself to the sculptor's eye. Here nature seems purged of all the dross of daily life. No unsuitable or commonplace positions, or accidental movements, are introduced, as we have found was done in the marbles of the Olympia temple. Even in the forms of the reclining figures, as, for instance, of the careless, lounging river-god, while nothing could exceed the naturalness of the position, an unsurpassed elegance and noble dignity pervade it, showing how under Pheidias' touch what went before became transfigured.

Whence came this great and marvellous advance in the forms of Attic sculpture, is a question which has often been asked. It is well known, that every artist owes more than can be told to those who have gone before. As Raphael had his Perugino, and Michel Angelo his Luca Signorelli, so, doubtless, Pheidias had his important predecessors; but who they were, is one of the problems which presents itself for solution. Possibly of Ageladas, Pheidias learned Peloponnesian correctness, and of Polygnotos, the great Thasian painter,

and his fellows in Olympia, a regard for the pictorial ; but doubtless it was his own towering Attic genius which gave the crowning to the art of this Golden Age in Greek sculpture.

In regarding the exquisite finish of these Parthenon marbles, we may recall the words of the great German sculptor Rietschl.⁶⁷⁶ "Every time I call to mind the fact, that the backs of the Parthenon statues are as perfectly finished as the front, I am not only filled with wonder and admiration, but deeply touched. I realize that the master knew, that, when the statues had passed out of his hand and workshop, no human eye could ever peer away up to see the hidden beauties which his love and labor had created ; while to us is permitted, after two thousand years have elapsed, more by happy chance than the necessary course of history, to look upon these love-offerings of a genuine artist-soul." The question irresistibly arises, why so much time and labor was expended on those parts of the statues which should not be seen when once in place. The Attic sculptors evidently worked with that lofty impulse which created what was, that it should be good. The same spirit seems eloquently to speak to us from the giddy heights of Gothic cathedrals, where the stone flowers and leaves are as perfectly cut as those on a level with the eye. So the gentle floweret of the wilderness, never to be looked upon by mortal, oft-times has beauty as winning as that of its cherished sister of the garden. The loving conscientiousness witnessed in the execution of these noble works of ancient Greece is an expression of the true and beautiful in man's nature, seeking to satisfy the lofty claims of his higher self, and manifesting its ability so to do.

In the Parthenon marbles, the charm is not made dependent upon the choice of the materials used. The Æginetan works, as well as those at Olympia, are in the more brilliant and costly Parian marble, these in the cheaper Attic stone, often defective in grain and color. Haydon, the English sculptor, said of them, "Were these marbles lost, or had they been burned for mortar, there would have been left a gap in art as great as there would have been in philosophy had Newton never lived." Dannecker, the German sculptor, exclaimed, "In these marbles all is truth, — the highest truth !" The Italian, Canova, when asked to restore them, replied, "It would be a wanton sacrilege were I, or any one else, to touch these marbles with a chisel. — Every piece breathes life with truth, and an extraordinary mastery of the art which never parades itself."

But, while the forms rouse such enthusiasm, the united thought of the Parthenon marbles, expressed in treble structure, as in the tragedies of Æschylos, is no less sublime. Like great harmonies blending in some vast symphony, appear in the pediments the relation of the goddess to her land, in the metopes her battle for law and order, and, in the frieze, the honors offered by her grate-

ful people. Could we imagine these matchless forms in their Attic home, shaded by the marble roof of the Parthenon, or looking down from among its faultless pillars; could we charm before us violet-hued Hymettos, and the depths of the overarching azure; could we feel the gentle breezes from the blue sea, and behold the Greek sun bathing all with golden light,—then should we realize what met the eye of the Athenian of old, and inspired his thoughts as he devotedly ascended his sacred mountain: then should we feel in our own souls what transcendent ideals were charmed into adequate and glorious material forms by the Pheidian age.

CHAPTER XX.

ATTIC SCULPTURES OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. (concluded).

Theseion at Athens. — The Subjects of its Metopes. — The Subjects of its Frieze. — The Erechtheion. — Its Inscriptions and Sculptural Remains. — Its Portico. — The Caryatidæ. — Temple of Nike Apteros. — Its Frieze. — Description of its Reliefs. — Comparison with the Theseion — Balustrade of Temple of Nike Apteros. — Its Reliefs. — Their Style — Influence on Later Works. — Votive Reliefs of this Age. — Reliefs on South Side of Acropolis from Shrine to Asclepios and his Associate Gods. — Humbler Monuments from these Shrines. — Description of some of the Earliest of these Shrines. — Cause of their Rarity. — Reliefs on Public Tablets. — Sources of their Designs. — Tombstones. — Stele from Peiraieus.

WITH great pomp and religious festivities Kimon, in 469 B.C., brought back, from far-off Skyros, the bones of the Attic hero Theseus, recognized, as was said, by their heroic size, and gave them a worthy resting-place in Attica. In connection with this act, he founded a temple to Theseus, — a building which, as some suppose, still forms one of the attractions of modern Athens, now turned into a museum (Fig. 161).⁶⁷⁷ The age of this building and of its sculptures has been a matter of great controversy; but it is now generally believed, on account of similarity in style and treatment of subject, that they are about contemporary with the Parthenon. The pediments were once adorned with sculptures, which have, however, altogether disappeared, leaving only traces of their points of attachment, but showing that they were completed before the roof was put on.⁶⁷⁸ The ten metopes of the east front, as well as the four down each side, are still attached to the building, and have sculptures in very high relief in Parian marble.⁶⁷⁹ The remaining fifty metopes were without carving, but probably painted. In the sculptural slabs, which are much injured, nine of the labors of Heracles are recognized, in one case one scene occupying two metopes. We see the hero (1) wrestling with the Nemean lion, (2) fighting the Lernaian Hydra, (3) overtaking the swift stag, (4) bringing to the hiding Eurystheus the Erymanthian boar, (5) mastering Diomedes' horses, (6) bringing Kerberos out of the under-world, (7) securing the girdle of the Amazon, Hippolyte. The eighth and ninth metopes are occupied by the triple-bodied Geryon; and, in the tenth, Heracles gets the apples of Hesperides. The remaining metopes, eight in number, relate to the deeds of Theseus, pre-eminently an Attic hero. One of the best preserved of these

represents his struggle with the ox-headed Minotaur, who yearly devoured in the Cretan labyrinth Attic youths and maidens, sent as a propitiatory offering, until Theseus destroyed the monster. On another the hero appears overpowering the wild steer which had wasted the fields of Marathon, and was carried off alive an offering to Apollo. In still another a close struggle takes place between Theseus and Kerkyon, son of Poseidon, who lived at Eleusis, and, by his new mode of wrestling, had overcome and put to death all passers-by.⁶⁸⁰ In this relief Theseus, raising the evil-doer from the ground, strangles him with powerful grasp. Kerkyon offers resistance by catching at Theseus' neck with one hand, and at his ankle with the other. The compact, almost statu-
esque, grouping here has suggested to some what we know of Myron's statues,

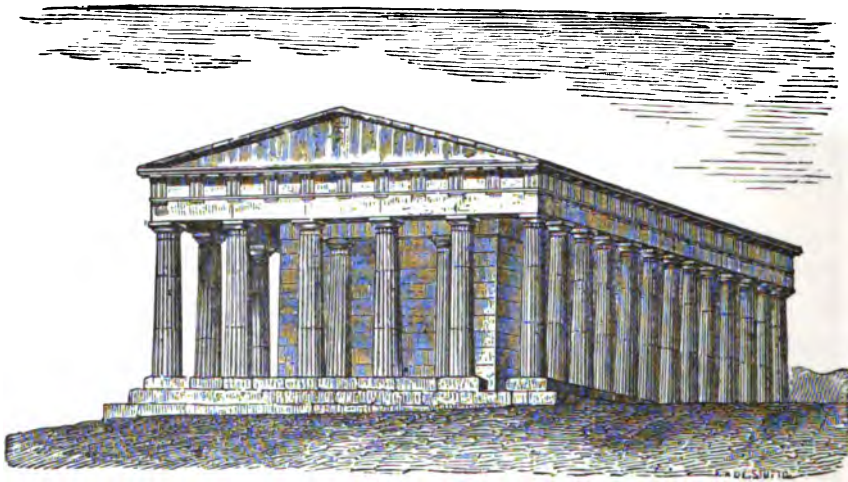


Fig. 161. The Temple of Theseus. Athens.

and is hardly in keeping with the usual system of Greek relief, a large portion of the surface being left unpleasantly vacant. In still another metope, Theseus is represented as wreaking just vengeance on Skiron, the highway robber, who forced travellers to wash his feet on the brink of a fearful precipice near Megara, and, while they kneeled before him, pushed them over backwards into the raging sea, where a huge tortoise devoured their mangled limbs. On this metope we see the robber, who, pushed by Theseus, is falling backwards over the brink, with his feet still in air, — a picture of helplessness, strongly contrasted to the stability of his conqueror.

Two friezes in high relief encircled the *pronaos* and *opisthodomos* of this temple, about 4.27 meters (fourteen feet) above the head of the spectator, the one on the west end having only two-thirds of the length of that on the east.⁶⁸¹ The subject of the western or shorter frieze is the fierce combat between the centaurs and Lapithæ at the wedding of Peirithoös. It opens at one end with a centaur raising high a rock to bring it down upon his fallen enemy, who

can offer no other resistance than his mantle; this group strongly resembling one of the Parthenon metopes. A Lapith, who seems to have relinquished the struggle as hopeless, hastens from this group to assist a comrade engaged with a centaur who rolls on his equine back in a startling and unpleasant manner; while still another centaur, swinging a tree-trunk, comes galloping up to assist in the fray. The following group is most interesting, on account of its frequency and typical rendering in Greek art. Two centaurs



Fig. 162. A Part of the West Frieze of the Temple of Theseus. Athens.

rear high above a hero whom they are burying alive. One-half of his body is already below ground; and the huge rock they raise above him will soon fall and cover him completely, in spite of his raised shield. This hero is the invulnerable Caineus, whom, because the centaurs could not wound, they buried alive deep in the earth, where he continued to live forever. This same grouping appears in the frieze at Phigaleia, and in the recently discovered Lykian tomb at Gjölbashi. In the remainder (Fig. 162), a Lapith with trailing garment seems rushing by a centaur to help one of his mates who has fallen on his knees, and is in close but doubtful combat with one of the brutes. Again, a tall, helmeted warrior attacks a centaur from behind rearing over a fallen and beautiful youth.

The subject of the east frieze, over the entrance, is a combat in the pres-

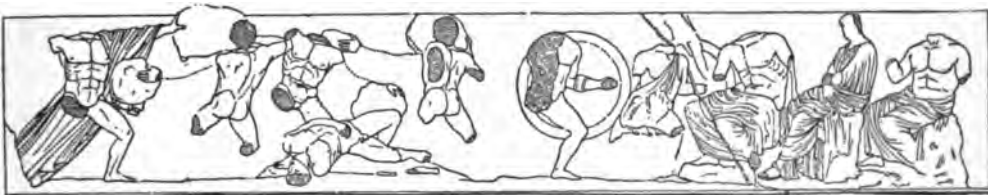


Fig. 163. Part of the East Frieze of the Temple of Theseus. Athens.

ence of six seated gods, three on each side. A part of this frieze, including the group of the gods on one side, and one-half of the combat between them, is represented in Fig. 163; and the remaining gods of the opposite side, on a larger scale, are seen in Fig. 164. The subject of this contest is a matter of controversy; some thinking that it represents the destruction by Theseus of the sons of Pallas, here using rocks for weapons, and who, when Theseus came to Attica, sought to wrest from him his rightful kingdom.^{68a} Brunn, however,

believes that here the Athenians, under Theseus, fight against Eurystheus, the Skironian pass being assailed, a boundary stone between Attica and the Peloponnesos being set up, and Eurystheus led away a prisoner.⁶⁸³ In the very centre of the frieze, the first figure to the left (Fig. 163) is doubtless Theseus himself, with drapery trailing to the ground. The sculptures are, unfortunately, much injured; but with the aid of Stuart's drawings, made in the early part of this century, two of the divinities may be identified, — the helmeted Athena, who converses with the veiled Hera seated beside her, and appearing in Fig. 164. Zeus and Poseidon are probably also in this frieze, and, with the remaining unknown gods, eagerly watch the contest. Beyond the gods, at the ends of the eastern frieze, on both sides, bound prisoners are being led away.

The gods are here seated in separate groups on each side of the central



Fig. 164. One Group of Gods in the East Frieze of the Temple of Theseus. Athens.

scene, as in the Parthenon frieze; and there is so unmistakable a kinship in the composition and style of the sculptures of the two temples, that there can be little doubt that the same art-spirit inspired both.

The venerated ERECHTHEION on the Acropolis, which had sheltered Athena's wooden idol and olive, and under the pavement of which fable buried the heroes, Erechthonios and Kecrops, had been destroyed during the Persian wars, but rose again, in the time of religious fervor and great material prosperity, a jewel of Ionic, as the Parthenon was of Attic-Doric, architecture, and is beautiful in its ruins. It was a complex building, differing from any other known Greek temple. According to inscriptions found on the Acropolis, some of its sculptures were not completed until 409 B.C., four years before the closing of the Peloponnesian war.⁶⁸⁴ Parts of a frieze, as well as graceful figures supporting a portico, and inscriptions, give us a glimpse of what its sculptures must have been. These inscriptions comprise building accounts carved in marble, and put

up on the Acropolis, which contain names of workmen, whence they came, the objects they executed, and the pay they received. In their fragmentary condition the inscriptions read about as follows: "There were paid in the 7th *prytany* to —, who lives in Collytos, for chariot and two mules, ninety drachms (about eighteen dollars); to Agathanor, who lives in Alopeke, for the woman by the chariot and both mules, —; for the boy who holds the spear, sixty drachms (twelve dollars); to Phyromachos, the Kephisian, for the youth by the armor, sixty drachms (twelve dollars); to Praxias, who lives in Melite, for the horse, and one appearing behind him, rearing, one hundred and twenty drachms (twenty-four dollars); to Antiphanes, the Keramite, for the chariot, and two horses attached to it, and youth, two hundred and forty drachms; to Phyromachos, the Kephisian, for him who leads a horse, sixty drachms; to Myrion, who lives in Argyle, for the horse, and man striking him, and the stele added later, one hundred and twenty-seven drachms; to Soclos, who lives in Alopeke, for the holder of the bridle, sixty drachms; to Phyromachos, the Kephisian, for the man leaning on his staff, and standing by the altar, sixty drachms; to Iasos, the Collytian, for the woman before whom a girl has thrown herself, eighty drachms,—the whole sum of the sculptures in this *prytany*, thirty-three hundred and fifteen drachms." From this informal, simple record, we see that the subjects of this frieze of the Erechtheion, calling to mind the riders and chariots of the Parthenon, could not have been of a mythic character: the figures are mentioned simply as man, youth, woman, and maiden. That these scenes were connected with worship, is indicated by the altar mentioned. It is evident, also, from the inscriptions, that both citizens and aliens were engaged as workmen on these friezes; but among high artists they evidently could not have been reckoned. As we look at the fragments,⁶⁸⁵ even in their ruin we are astonished at their harmonious beauty, and brought to realize how artistic skill seems to have been in the common air of Attica at this glorious time. Among these fragments is an exquisite seated figure, in which we hardly know whether to admire more the execution of the nude, or the grace and dignity of the drapery. But, unhappily, these reliefs were not chiselled in the usual manner out of a solid block: the figures were first cut in a coarse variety of Attic marble, and then fastened one by one on to a background of dark Eleusinian stone, with bronze nails, some of which are still in the fragments of the architrave,—a mode of working which has hastened destruction.

Happily, this frieze does not comprise all the preserved sculptures of the Erechtheion. At one end stood an airy portico, supported by six figures, representing, according to the inscription, *ai κόραι* (the maidens).⁶⁸⁶ Three of these have stood faithful to their duty down to the present day; the fourth was knocked over during the Venetian bombardment, but was re-adjusted in 1846; the fifth was likewise found prostrate, and restored in 1837; and the sixth was removed by Lord Elgin to London. In its place now stands a cast from the

original in the British Museum, surrounding an iron support. Thus the six glorious maidens once more appear, bearing aloft the light architrave of the temple-porch (Fig. 165). They doubtless echo to us the idea embodied in the Athenian girls chosen to bear baskets containing sacrificial utensils in the sacred procession. The strength and grace of youth mark their erect attitude in the support of the basket-like capital, and are seen to the best advantage in the single figure (Selections, Plate VII.). The shoulders are thrown back, one limb is slightly bended, and the other planted firmly on the ground. The massive build of the shoulders, the widely expanded breasts, high on the chest, are marked peculiarities in the rendering of the female form during this age. They are clearly remnants of the conventional archaism of earlier times, in which these features are unnaturally pronounced; in later art, as in the Venus of Melos, such robust and vigorous forms give place to a more natural, a softer and more melting, beauty. A full *chiton*, with a short *diploidion*, drops over the shoulders, echoing the form of the expanded bosom. At the waist the *chiton* is caught up so as to make a graceful puff, and thence falls in broad surfaces over the unfreighted limb, and in deep furrows over the other, suggesting by lines of light and quiet shadow a fluted column. The uncovered arms and neck form a beautiful contrast to the channelled and ruffled drapery. One hand seems to have caught up the lower end of the mantle falling from the shoulder down the back, but the other appears to have hung quietly at the side. The very arrangement of the hair enhances the impression of easy bearing. The regular lines of a braid rise from the brow, interrupting the wavy locks on each side; and on the top of the head are coiled two heavy braids, on which rests the basket-shaped capital. The introduction of coils and basket gives an impression of ease which would have been wanting had the ponderous architrave rested directly on the girlish heads. Rich tresses fall down the back, caught together a part of the way down in a ring; while stray curls drop forward over the shoulder in lines that give solidity to the dignified pose of the head. Let us note the beautiful build of the faces of these maidens, especially of the one in the British Museum (Selections, Plate VII.). In the shape of the graceful forehead, and treatment of the closely waving hair, we shall find a general resemblance to the beautiful head of the Aphrodite of the Berlin Museum (Plate II.), described above, and a noble sample of the treatment of the female face in Attic art at this time.

In these maidens we have the first known case in Greek sculpture where the human form fully supplants a member of the architecture; but how successfully this is accomplished without detriment to the real character, either of the statue or of the building! The Greeks have taught us of what prime importance for the highest architectural harmony it is that every member should not only actually perform its office, but also appear to accomplish it, and that with ease and grace. Thus, here capital and column are formed with a subtle

wisdom which both makes them bear the superimposed weight, and also satisfies the eye perfectly with the manner in which the burden is carried. Of these maidens of the Erechtheion, the eminent architect, Viollet-le-Duc, says, "The elegant forms of these statues are imprinted with a character so marked by solidity and amplexness, that columns themselves would appear less capable of



Fig. 166. Portico of the Erechtheion. Athens.

supporting." ⁶⁸⁷ Taken as a whole, with what admirable symmetry are they adapted to the place they occupy! Three of these figures, to the beholders' left, have at rest the left leg, and the other three the right. By this means, they all appear to incline slightly towards the interior of the edifice; but the drapery on their opposite sides so falls as to produce a slightly swelling outline about the middle of the figure, resembling the *entasis* of a column, and increasing the impression of stability. At the same time, the division of the entab-

lature by bands and ornaments, less ponderous than usual, gives the burden an appearance of lightness, suited to the graceful bearers. The impression left by these maidens, as they still stand supporting the temple portico, is that of the dignity and seriousness of those who perform a work of religious devotion, while their glorious marble forms reveal, on the part of the sculptor, the keenest sense for æsthetic truth.

Besides the Attic-Doric Parthenon and Ionic Erechtheion, there was raised on the Acropolis, during this golden age of Attic art, the so-called temple of NIKE APTEROS, a little gem of Ionic architecture, whose sculptures have happily been preserved. That rocky prominence of the Acropolis jutting out towards the south, where old Aigeus had watched for the sails of his son Theseus returning from Crete, was sacred to Athena, under her special title of Athena Nike, or Victory. Here Pausanias saw a diminutive temple, which he misleadingly calls the temple of Nike Apteros, or wingless Nike, thus represented, according to his story, that she might never fly away, and desert her people.⁶⁸⁸ But, according to other authors, there can be no doubt that the building was sacred to Athena herself as Nike, a part of the Erechtheion having been sacred to her as Polias.⁶⁸⁹

In 1676 the English traveller Wheler saw this small temple, and wrote of it, "The architrave hath a *Basso-relievo* on it of little Figures well cut, and now serveth the Turks for a Magazine of Powder."⁶⁹⁰ Less than one hundred years later, in 1751, Stuart found no trace whatever of the temple, except a few signs of the foundations, and a few sculptured slabs built into an adjacent powder-magazine. These four slabs of the "little Figures well cut," Lord Elgin removed to England, where they now adorn the British Museum.⁶⁹¹ In our century, in 1835, Ross, the German archæologist, caused the Turkish battery on the Acropolis to be cleared away, and was rewarded by finding many more sculptures, besides architectural fragments; so that he and his colleagues were enabled to charm the structure back into existence. And so again, although without its pediments, it forms one of the most graceful features in the Athenian landscape.⁶⁹² Bohn's recent explorations prove, that the substructure of this temple was built at the same time as that of the great *propylaia*, or entrance portico to the Acropolis, known from literature to have been erected between 437 and 432 B.C.⁶⁹³ This exquisite little temple (5.49 by 8.23 meters) was then, doubtless, one of the last architectural achievements of Athens before the Peloponnesian war broke upon her.

The Ionic frieze of Pentelic marble, 27.45 meters (90 feet) long, which encircles the building over its columns, is only about forty-six centimeters high, and is sculptured with figures in very high relief.⁶⁹⁴ On the east, or front, and still *in situ*, appears an assemblage of mostly quiet, erect figures, occasionally interrupted by a seated one, and partly represented in Fig. 166. This company of gods, in the midst of which Athena with her shield certainly appears,

seem to be holding council over the battle raging on the remaining three sides of the temple; but the sadly mutilated marbles have lost many of the minor connections of graceful variety, so necessary to the running compositions of an Ionic frieze. One figure, however, may still be seen resting on his staff, evidently engaged in conversation with his graceful neighbor goddess; two others stand with arms thrown lovingly around one another; and, near the end, two excited figures seem to bring news of the battle in progress on the three remaining sides of the frieze.

There we see Greeks fighting with mounted barbarians, who are marked as Persians by their beards, peculiar head-dress, long-sleeved garments, and trousers; but so serious is the ruin of the monument, that some, overlooking the beards, have been tempted to see in them Amazons. Again, Greeks fight with Greeks; the varying shapes of the helmets showing them to belong to different parts of Hellas. Thus, one warrior wears the close-fitting Attic



Fig. 166. Part of East Frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike, in the Acropolis. Athens.

helmet with its long plume, and another the clumsier pointed and plumeless Bœotian helmet (Fig. 167). In these excited high reliefs, the sculptor seems to intend an historical combat, in which Greeks were pitted against allied Persians and Greeks. Such was the battle near Plataiai in Sept. 479 B.C., when Athenians and Spartans, in hand-to-hand struggle, met the Persian enemy on one part of the field, while, on another, Athenians engaged in fierce conflict with their own brethren, Bœotians, Locrians, Thessalians, and Phokians, fifty thousand strong, allies of the Persian invader.⁶⁹⁵ The terrible carnage among the barbarians on that day seems to be indicated in these marbles by the great number of Persians lying dead under the horses' hoofs. A glance at the reliefs shows their thoroughly suggestive character, for nowhere do they venture to picture the actual battle-field. Some particulars of costume and armor imply an historical event; but no marching phalanxes, soldiers drawn up for battle, or confused *mêlée* of fallen men and horses, are seen. Single combatants, in which beautiful forms appear, here press one upon the other, while others group themselves pleasingly. In very few figures is the same motive repeated; but great fertility of composition, and many new groupings not met with before, are to be traced. In one instance we see a

Persian, whose horse has fallen under him, being taken prisoner, while a comrade comes up to his rescue. No group has more grace of composition than that in which a fierce conflict rages about a fallen warrior (Fig. 167), a subject familiar to us from the pediments of the Temple of Ægina; but, in the few lines of this Attic relief, there is a pathos and earnestness foreign to the Ægina groups, making it an eloquent witness, moreover, to the ability of the Greek to develop the same theme into nobler, higher form. Here the body of the fallen is relaxed in weakness, the right arm hangs listlessly to the ground; but a touch of nature is brought in by the other, raised, and thrown over the neck of his deliverer. The latter bends over gently, and lifts him away; being protected in the act by a warrior behind with raised shield. An enemy, with shield on the left arm, stretches out his right hand to grasp the feet of the

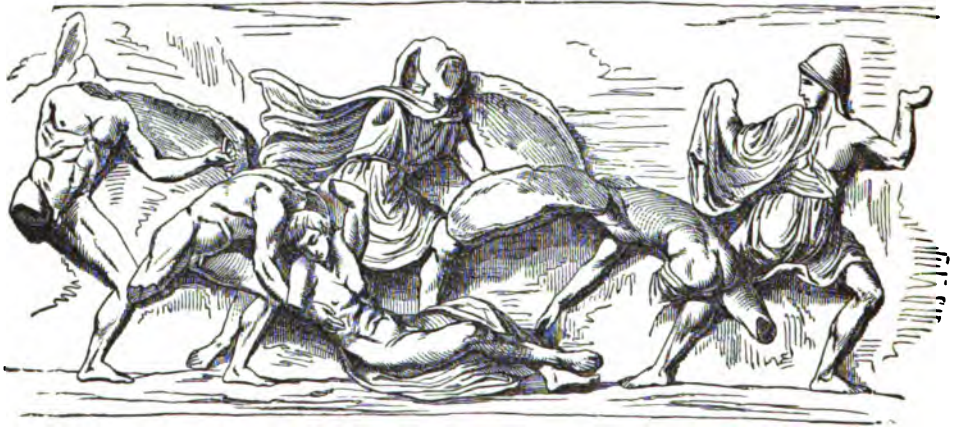


Fig. 167. A Part of the West Frieze of the Temple to Athena Nike. Athens.

fallen, fast slipping away from him. Filling up the space above this tragic group, and suggesting the continuance of the battle, we see an Attic warrior, with fluttering mantle, and short, girded *chiton*, pursuing a Bœotian, who has only his mantle as a means of protection.

This frieze, considered as a whole, reveals groups richer and more varied than those of the Temple of Theseus, already considered. The compact groups of two or three in the latter are here swollen often to seven or more; and the more passionate movement shows a passing from the more contained compositions of the older time over to the intense pathos of the following century.

Connected with this little temple of Athena Nike are other sculptures, which, in a still higher and nobler degree, show progress towards the works of the coming century. The temple stood on a steep and jutting buttress, overlooking the broad steps leading up to the *propylaia*. The surrounding space overhanging these steps, unless walled in, would have been a dangerous spot for worshippers and priests: consequently a balustrade,

ninety-six centimeters high, and supporting a railing, traces of which have been found, was built around the exposed sides. This balustrade was not left plain, but adorned with sculpture in very high relief, to which, as on the Parthenon, color and bronze gave finish; and the many fragments, discovered at intervals between 1835 and 1880, give us an idea of its former beauty.⁶⁹⁶



Fig. 168. Parts of Winged Goddesses of Victory (Nikes) from the Balustrade of the Temple to Athena Nike. Athens.

Several of these are represented in Fig. 168 as in their picturesque confusion on the Acropolis. The fragments preserved, as Kekulé's studies have shown, are from about forty-two of the fifty-six figures which originally occupied the thirty-five meters comprising the total length of this frieze. Again, and yet again, winged goddesses of Victory here did homage to Athena, calling to mind Pheidias' frequent repetitions of Nike on the throne of his Zeus at Olympia. As in the frieze of the Parthenon, so here, the sculptor's delight seems to be in subtle and exquisite variations on a few themes.

Athena here appears once, wearing her helmet and *ægis*, and seated on the prow of a ship; and again, with shield by her side, resting on a rock. To her the graceful Nikes bring grateful sacrifice, and before her they build up and adorn trophies of war. Fragments show that one Nike appeared in the very act of sacrificing. She kneeled on the back of the cow, and held the animal's head with one hand, while the other, doubtless, raised the knife to give the fatal thrust; this group furnishing a motive often repeated afterwards. Another cow for sacrifice we see, restive, and breaking away from the frail forms attending her: others were probably once to be seen being wreathed or quietly led on. Athena's victories are also here directly commemorated. One Nike brings a quiver, to attach it to a trophy of victory, consisting of the Persian long-sleeved garment and folding head-dress, raised on a post. The fragment of a marble rudder, together with Athena's position on the prow of a vessel, shows, moreover, that these goddesses celebrated, besides victory on land, vic-



Fig. 169. A Part of the Relief of the Balustrade of the Temple of Athena Nike, according to a Restoration by Herr Otto.

tories on the sea, — those, perhaps, of Alkibiades at Abydos, Kyzicos, and Byzantium, as Kekulé has conjectured. Several seem to stand quietly awaiting their turn in the active work. One, with flying drapery, adjusts a helmet on the top of a second trophy. Still again, one of the most beautiful of all (the largest fragment in Fig. 168), no doubt stood quietly like a Nike on the coins of Seleucos, with drapery caught between the knees, wings extended, and arms raised, crowning a trophy with a helmet or wreath.⁶⁹⁷ This and several of the other Nikes appear in Fig. 169, as restored by Otto. One discovered in 1880 ascends a step, as if to enter the temple-gate, a second step appearing beyond. The most enigmatical is that exquisite Nike who bends over, busied with her sandal, perhaps to loosen it preparatory to entering the sacred place (Fig. 170). Poised by her outstretched wings, we see here a form of rare richness, revealed by luxurious, transparent drapery; and, indeed, all these fragments show a delicate elaboration and delicious abandon, which seem to be leading away from the divine strength and abstraction of the Parthenon frieze, to the ravishing individual grace and passion of the following century. Compare but that Nike holding a restive cow, with the youth in a similar occupation in the Parthenon procession, and we feel how here the excited drapery

quivers and flutters before our eyes, breaking into a thousand varied and curving lines; while, in the Parthenon figure, the action is full of a dignity which overcomes the intensity of motion. As in the Parthenon, so here, the folds which sweep around the forms are grand, but everywhere more transparent. Their edges even show a change. The undulating border still exists, but it is not so precisely regular as on the Parthenon frieze. The conception of both form and drapery resembles more closely the marbles of the Parthenon pediments, but is more intense even than they, and heralds emphatically the coming time. These figures of the balustrade, far superior to the frieze of the temple itself, may be placed with the Parthenon pedimental groups, on that radiant peak whose glory cannot be dimmed by contrast with the dazzling brilliance of later ages and other lands.

That these reliefs were a source of inspiration to later sculptors, is evident from many scattered monuments in marble. Thus, in the Vatican, a female figure curbs a steer in exactly the pose of one of the goddesses of this frieze; and another moving before her is like her companion. In the Munich Glyptothek is a relief in which we see the beautiful winged Nike of this frieze busied with her sandal, transformed into a mortal,⁶⁹⁸ who looks up at an image before her, and with her toes lifts from the ground a roll. Opposite to her is a stately female, calling to mind, as she wreathes the head of the image with a band, several of the erect goddesses of this frieze.



Fig. 170. A Nike from the Balustrade of the Temple to Athena Nike. Athens.

We have thus far considered the sculptures with which the great age of Pheidias and Pericles enriched its temples; we have tried in imagination to reconstruct the chryselephantine colossi they placed within them; but, besides

these great works, there are many humbler marbles, which give us priceless glimpses into the activity of that time, and show the intimate interchange between its art and daily life.

Of the milestones bearing the image of protecting deity, Hermes or Hecate, and which, with pithy sayings attached to cheer the passing traveller, lined Attic roads, we have no remnants. We find no traces of the figures of Apollo Aigyeus, who guarded every gate, and stood before every door where the width of the street would allow of a statue.⁶⁹⁹ But, although deprived of these monuments, we have others, unpretending votive reliefs, consecrated to deity, besides marble documents of state, comprising records of treasurers' accounts, treaties made, and honors conferred upon deserving citizens; and last, but not least, we possess a few tombstones.

Of the votive reliefs, none are more interesting or beautiful than those found within the shrines on the southern slope of the Acropolis. Here excavations have recently revealed many touching details of ancient life, and taught us the important part played by these shrines in the world of art. On this spot the god Asclepios was the main deity; and here his children, Hygieia and others, as well as Demeter, Core, Heracles, Pan, and the Nymphs associated with him, also had their altars.⁷⁰⁰

Among the ruins now laid bare, we may recognize the foundations of two small temples, and, near them, those of two extensive porticos, or open, airy colonnades, where the invalids seeking cure might repose, and wait for the revelations to be made. Close by each, a fountain furnished the water necessary for the treatment prescribed by the god, and for purification and ablution. Both of these temples were little more than chapels to protect the image of the god, and the hundreds of valuable offerings mentioned in the inventories. The inscriptions inform us, that within the temples were metal, marble, and terra-cotta eyes, feet, hands, and even bodies, offered by those who had been cured. One hundred and ten eyes, as well as vases, rings, and small reliefs, are mentioned, brought by the devotees, and arranged along the interior walls. In one temple inventory we read, "Third row, leg in relief, not inscribed, consecrated during the priesthood of Lysias;" and, again, "Along the wall, first row, a small *lekythos* of silver, etc."⁷⁰¹ At the end of the temple was the statue of the god; and that there were other statues, probably in honor of physicians, seems evident from a base with a set of surgical instruments, and from a list which makes mention of a statue of one Polycritos, perhaps the celebrated physician of Mende.⁷⁰² Arranged about the statue were tables laden with offerings: in the centre of the temple stood tripods, and lamps were suspended from the ceiling. The terraces about these two temples were crowded with statues of Asclepios and his children, all gods of healing. Besides numerous humbler monuments, votive reliefs were left here by the pious, probably attached to pedestals, or arranged along the walls of the porticos,

and perhaps the exterior of the temple, as indicated by points of attachment still to be seen. Color once covered the background of these reliefs, as well as the hair, and probably some of the garments, as is proved by traces of blue and reddish-brown.⁷⁰³ These votive reliefs, usually quite small, and doubtless the work of humble men, were dedicated for the most part, as we learn from inscriptions, in thanks for favors already received; but a few seem to have been supplications for future favor. Among the large number found, some can lay claim to genuine artistic excellence; and a few of them are, evidently, from the second half of the fifth century B.C., judging from their resemblance to the temple sculptures of that time.

The simplest and oldest of these is one found within the limits of the Asclepeion, and now in Athens: it is 2.57 centimeters high, and .28 centimeters long, and bears a low relief .04 centimeters deep (Fig. 171). On the right we see a good old Athenian, with decidedly plain but portrait features, wearing his every-day working attire, — the round cap, and short, girded *chiton*, without a mantle, — and leading his horse, whose head alone appears. Above the man's head, as if to fill out the space, is the fragmentary dedicatory inscription, doubtless referring to this worthy Athenian himself, who, with reverential and hesitating



Fig. 171. Votive Relief to Asclepios. Athens.

demeanor, approaches the glorious trio of divinities towering up in front of him.⁷⁰⁴ The humble worshipper does not lay gifts on an altar separating him from deity, as in later reliefs, but comes directly to Asclepios, and even seems to touch the arm of the beneficent god, who is made to look kindly down upon him. Over the shoulder of the god's noble form, and affectionately resting her left hand upon it, gently gazes Hygieia, his daughter, showing her interest, also, in the welfare of the approaching suppliant: in her right, she holds ready the vase, probably of healing drink.⁷⁰⁵ The third in the trio, whose head, alas! is gone, places her arm on that of Hygieia, as an interested by-stander. Perhaps she is Iaso or Panakeia, who were both local goddesses, frequently associated with Asclepios as ministering deities. What a poem of kindly feeling is told in these few simple but beautiful lines! Not the interior of a temple is indicated in this old relief, as was done later; but, untrammelled by outer forms, the humble suppliant approaches trustfully, in all his plainness, to receive a kind-

ness such as beings living in sweet union would exercise towards one another. These forms, moreover, breathe a grand nobility and simple dignity, such as we have seen in the Parthenon frieze.

Another votive relief (Fig. 172), discovered also in the ancient shrines of Asclepios, and now in the Varvakion at Athènes, is of such exquisite beauty, that it may well rank with the great temple sculptures in Athens of the latter half of the fifth century, the rich and flowing forms pointing to the closing years of that time. It is larger and finer than the relief to Asclepios just



Fig. 172. Votive Relief to the Nymphs and Pan, from Archandros. Athens.

described, being .68 centimeters high, and .73 centimeters long, and bears five figures in moderately high relief. According to the inscription along the top, it was dedicated by one Archandros to the Nymphs, and probably also to Pan, whose name, however, is lost.⁷⁰⁶ On one end, wrapped in the patrician mantle, is the small form of Archandros himself, with portrait features, standing before an altar of uncut stones, such as were frequent in the rural worship of the powers of nature. He raises the right hand in adoration before the

three glorious Nymphs beyond the altar,—a trio whose dignified, ideal forms and mien are widely enough different from this portrait of the simple worshipper. Their gentle dependence upon one another shows a sisterly affection and intimacy of friendship which augurs well for the success of the suppliant Archandros, one of them already looking inquiringly down upon him. Above Archandros' head, peering out of a grotto, is the horned and bearded Pan, a very ancient Attic god. He shows his interest, also, by gazing down upon the worshipper, and spreading his arms out over him. His comical shape well fills out the empty space above the diminutive mortal.

The high, square, rather than long, form of these reliefs, their frieze-like composition, and lack of framing, and the portrait character of the worshipper, all are features met with only in votive reliefs of the fifth century B.C., giving place in the following age to more generality, a temple-like enclosure, and a picture-like treatment.

That so few of these exquisite and touching reliefs from the fifth century are preserved, Milchhöfer accounts for by supposing that the use of perishable

painted terra-cotta tablets, the descendants, as it were, of the quaint Poseidon tablets referred to on p. 162, must have been in vogue in the early part of the century, and were only gradually supplanted by enduring marble. This he gathers from the style of a few of the oldest votive reliefs, which seem actual copies of painting, so flat are their lines.

But not only these artistic expressions of piety are preserved to us. Even formal state-records on marble tablets were headed with reliefs, suggesting in a poetic form the contents of the inscription, were it a treaty made with foreign powers, an honor conferred on a private citizen, or the record made by the public treasurers of the wealth of the temples. Whenever the old treasurers in Athens gave place to newly elected officials, it was customary for them to have published on stone, and set up in the sacred place, an inventory of the treasures collected in the temples, and handed over to their successors. Of these valuable documents, to be read of all, surmounted by a significant relief, several beautiful specimens are preserved to us, all of them treating the subject in an allegorical and religious spirit. On them the goddess Athena, to whom the most part of the treasure was sacred, continually re-

appears. On one relief discovered recently in Athens, and now there, we see her virgin, slender form (Fig. 173) standing erect with helmet and *ægis*, and carrying her shield on the left shoulder. She is clad like Pheidias' Parthenos; and her form faces the beholder, but her face is turned to the side; her right hand is extended toward a beautiful, bearded man, who, in



Fig. 173. Vignette of State-record of the Treasury. Athens.

contemplative mien, with hand at chin, and body resting on his long staff, seems to be placing something in the goddess's open hand. His size, equal to that of Athena herself, forbids the possibility of his being any mortal, perchance a treasurer committing into the hands of the goddess the charge he has received from her; rather is he the personification of the Athenian people, the great *demos* itself.⁷⁰⁷ The style of this beautiful relief is such, that from it alone we could without hesitation place the work at about the close of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century. From the inscription we learn that it was executed in the archonship of Euthycles, which was in Olymp. 95. 3 (398 B.C.), two years after the close of the century in which Pheidias lived. In these interesting monuments where Athena appears, there evidently floated before the sculptor's mind the great temple-image by that master which he was wont to revere; but how beautifully varied in pose and action, so that the

goddess does not seem a cold, motionless image, but a divinely human being, full of interest and sympathy for her people, with whom she communes by offering the hand, and looking kindly down upon them !

Besides these monuments, we have a few tombstones which date from the latter half of the fifth century, bearing the stamp of its great art. One of these, now owned by M. Saburoff, Russian ambassador at the German court,

was found in Euboia, and has the tall, slender shape of tombstones of the preceding century, but is on a larger scale. The single figure occupying it, of more than life-size, and leaning on a staff, is so like one of the dignitaries of the Parthenon frieze, as to make it probable that this heroic sculpture is the work of Attic masters.⁷⁰⁸



Fig. 174. Tombstone Relief. Athens.

Of a different style, and leading the way over to the more elaborate tombstones of the next century, is that fragment found in the Peiraieus in 1837, now in the archæological museum at Athens (Fig. 174). Here the confined space of the earlier stele has widened. Its crowning *acroterion* is replaced by a small pediment, like that of a temple ; and its sides are no longer without finish, but have pilasters like those supporting the temple-front. Within this temple, as it were, to the heroic departed, are represented three

persons, evidently bound together by strong ties of friendship. Of the seated one, only a fragment of the veiled head remains ; but the pose and gestures of the remainder suggest clearly the near relationship of all. The man's hand, extended, seems to touch the end of a casket we see protruding beyond the seated lady's lap ; and the bowed head of his standing companion to look tenderly down on her, who probably represents the departed. The thoroughly profile treatment of the heads in this relief, as well as the grand simplicity of the drapery and of the faces, all call to mind so strongly the Parthenon frieze, that we may realize, that, in some cases at least, equally skilful hands executed humble tombstone, and extensive temple sculpture.

The question why so very few tombstone reliefs have been discovered from the Pheidian age, is one that forces itself upon us. Milchhöfer proposes a most ingenious solution in the theory, that the majority of the graves having been family tombs, and the older tumulus-like, they may have been crowned by terra-cotta vases of tall, slender shape, which, by reason of their fragile character, have disappeared.⁷⁰⁹ A black-figured *amphora*, on the body of which is represented a scene of mourning around the dead, has on its neck two women before such a tumulus, which is crowned by a vase, in shape like that on which this scene is painted. Fragments found in quantities near the graves go to strengthen this supposition, as well as a passage in Aristophanes, in which a youth imagines an old woman like a *lekythos*, having feet heavy with lead, standing on his grave.⁷¹⁰ From the monuments it is very clear, that in Attica, not until the fourth century B.C., and after the old Solonic regulations had been done away with, during the archonship of Eubulides, did marble monuments come to be extensively erected to the dead. And how much more numerous and pretentious they then became, we shall see in taking up the sculptures of the coming age.

With these monuments we close our survey of Attic sculpture in the latter half of the fifth century, and turn to that of Argos and other states for the same time.

CHAPTER XXI.

SCULPTURES OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C., OUTSIDE OF ATTICA.—POLYCLEITOS.

Polycleitos.—Argos as his Field of Activity.—His *Doryphoros*.—Trace of the Original in Existing Works.—Relief from Argos.—Head from Herculaneum.—Changes in Types to represent Gods.—Polycleitos' *Diadumenos*.—Polycleitos distinguished from a Later Sculptor of the Same Name.—Other Athletes, *Canephora*, etc., by this Master.—Boys playing at Knuckle-bones.—Polycleitos' *Heracles*.—His Amazons.—His Gods.—Hera.—Polycleitos as Architect.—Works at *Epidaur*.—Sculptural Remains from that Place.—Reputed Skill as Bronze-caster, etc.—His Great Care in his Work.—His Treatise on Art.—His Canon.—Compared with *Pheidias*.—Polycleitos' Scholars.—Other Argive Masters.—*Pausanias*' Account of the Temple of *Hera* at Argos.—Its Remains.—Reliefs from Argos.

CONTEMPORANEOUSLY with the great age of sculpture in Attica, in the latter part of the fifth century B.C., the old traditional art of Argos culminated in the person of Polycleitos. In antiquity he was no less celebrated than his Athenian neighbor *Pheidias*, and is said, in some minor respects, even to have surpassed him.⁷¹¹ Although a native of Sikyon, an old centre of artistic activity in the Northern Peloponnesos, Polycleitos seems to have spent the most of his life in Argos, the time-honored seat of working in metal. Inscriptions recently discovered enable us to sunder him sharply from a younger sculptor of the same name with whom he has been confounded. Of the exact date of his birth we know quite as little as of that of *Pheidias*. Like *Myron* and *Pheidias*, Polycleitos studied with old *Ageladas* of Argos; and from the fact that he was active as late as 423, and perhaps even 404, B.C., it is conjectured that he may have been the junior of these masters, and that the main part of his activity must have fallen in the latter half of the fifth century.

But quiet Argos, where his lot was cast, was less rich in great opportunities for the artist than progressive and ambitious Athens. Exhausted by a terrible massacre but a few decades before the Persian war, Argos had little share in the struggle against Persia. Failing to take part with her sister states against the Persian invader, she did not participate in the triumphs and awakening which quickened Attica with new life after the great national deliverance. Matters went on quietly as before in Argos, and it is not strange that we find the activity of Polycleitos moving in a narrower sphere than that opened up by Athens to her sons. His fame was consequently not due princi-

pally to representations of gods for great national shrines. Such, however, was the excellence of his athletes, that the ancients could not praise them highly enough. Cicero, Quintilian, Pliny, Lucian, and others, join in their laudatory tributes. Two of these bronze figures enjoyed a celebrity scarcely less than that of Pheidias' Zeus, and like Raphael's picture, the "Violin-player," were called by the name of the subject alone, being known as the "Doryphoros," or spear-bearer, and the "Diadumenos," or one winding a fillet around his head.

Of the former, the Doryphoros, we learn through Pliny, that it represented a youth of manly form (*viriliter puer*), and that it served as a canon for artists of later times.⁷¹² Cicero tells us that Lysippos profited by its perfect form; and Quintilian says, that, when the most celebrated artists wanted to mould or depict the most beautiful shapes, they did not err by following Bogoas or Megabyzos, but took this celebrated Doryphoros, suited alike for the *palæstra*, or field of battle.⁷¹³ In this renowned statue Polycleitos seems also to have embodied the principles of a perfect proportion: it had a strong chest, a square (*quadrata*) but graceful build, like the dancers in the rhythmic war-dance.⁷¹⁴ This master was also said to have been the first to make the form stand on one leg while the other was at rest.⁷¹⁵ With these intimations of what Polycleitos did sounding in their ears, scholars, in wandering through the galleries, have sought for even a feeble echo of his Canon, which must have had an untold influence on ancient Greek and Roman art, affecting, through the latter, artists and sculptors, even to-day.⁷¹⁶

A large number of marble statues, very variously restored, have been recognized as traceable to such an original,—the "codices," as it were, or various readings from one original text. Such are the six *replicas* in the museums of Naples, Rome, Florence, and Cassel.⁷¹⁷ All these present the robust form of a nude youth, planting firmly one foot, and with the tip of the other just touching



Fig. 175. A Copy of Polycleitos' Doryphoros. Naples. (Restored.)

the ground. The left arm is raised slightly, as though to balance a spear resting on the shoulder; while the right drops easily at the side. But in the presence of even the best of these marble *replicas*, — for instance, the one from Naples (Fig. 175), — its heavy build, massive muscles, and gross appearance, make it very difficult for even a lively imagination to detect that grace and exquisite proportion of the human form attributed to Polycleitos. Happily, the



Fig. 176. Relief found in Argos.

soil of ancient Argos, the home of the master, has at last come to our aid, yielding a small and unpretending relief which embodies the exact motive of the Doryphoros (Fig. 176). Here, on a slab fifty-seven centimeters high and about forty wide, we see a youth, with a spear poised lightly on his shoulder, and combining in his form dignity with grace, apparently, stepping slowly along beside his horse.⁷¹⁸ In this figure, the work of some humble Greek sculptor in Argos, the home of the great master, we see, then, far more than in the pretentious statues, the influence of the Canon so well known in the schools. By reducing Polycleitos' bronze figure in the round to relief

in marble, and by changing necessarily the pose and expression of the head, this minor sculptor has adapted the original to his purpose, that either of a tombstone or votive relief, and added a horse to mark the heroic character of his sculpture. The inferior shape of the horse, which the youth holds by a bridle stiffly laid over the hand, is in strong contrast to the grace and strength of the human form, in which seem to linger some of the qualities of the celebrated original it sought to reproduce. The lightness and dignity of its proportions, its beautiful poising, as well as the rhythm and ease of the members, show a spirit truly Greek, quite worthy a time soon after Polycleitos, at which early date even, his Canon gained repute among sculptors, having been studied by one of the greatest of them, Lysippos. Contrasting with it the large statues, copies of the Doryphoros, the latter, notwithstanding their abundance of details, and finish of surface, seem gross; their ponderous, massive forms witnessing rather to a Roman spirit, from which had fled the ideal lightness so pronounced in this little Greek work. The sadly ruined head of this figure has, however, a soft, sweet type, such as could not have been true to the severity of a bronze original of Polycleitos' time and school. In order, then, to call back the forms of the head, and type of feature, lent by Polycleitos to his manly youth, we must look elsewhere. An admirable bronze head, discovered at Herculaneum, and now in the Naples museum, is clearly copied from the great Argive bronze, and is inscribed with the name of the sculptor, Apollonios, son of Archias of Athens. While resembling the marble head of the Naples Doryphoros in its square build, strong features, and long, narrow oval, still it is more true to the nature of bronze, and doubtless far better suited than any other antique to give us a faithful picture of the stern ideal of Argos in contrast to the milder, more soulful, faces of Attica. Could we trace on the subtle streams of influence that must have gone out from the well-weighed, perfectly idealized, human forms which Polycleitos placed before the sculptors of his own and the following times, then should we realize the high place he occupied, and the importance of the principles he worked out. Of this we may gain a faint idea from the fact, that the motive of the Doryphoros seems to have been adopted to represent such widely different types as those of the gods Hermes and Pan, as appears from two statues now in Paris. One of these, an athletic figure discovered at Annecy, having the stern features of the Herculaneum bronze, is given the *kerykeion* of Hermes, and is thus distinguished as that god. The other, an equally athletic shape, but having gentler features, has rudimentary horns, springing up among the short locks above the forehead, and a syrinx in the hand, by which it is to be distinguished as Pan. Thus, two close reproductions of Polycleitos' Doryphoros are made to represent these widely differing deities by variation in face and attributes.

A Dionysos in marble, found in Hadrian's villa, and now in Rome, wearing a *nebris* across the chest, has that god's long locks and feminine face; but the form is clearly another of the changes on the master's Canon. Among the

statues that in general pose seem a variation on Polycleitos' Doryphoros, none is, however, more beautiful than a rare life-size bronze discovered in the sea off Salamis, and now one of the greatest treasures of the Saburoff collection.⁷¹⁹ The head is gone; and such are the marvellous ease and rhythmic grace of pose,

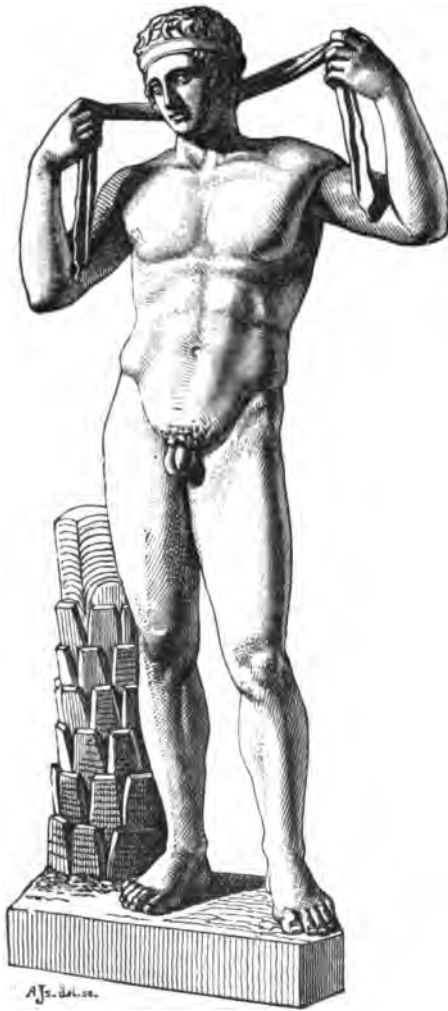


Fig. 177. A Copy of Polycleitos' Diadumenos. British Museum. (Restored.)

and exquisite lines of the fingers, that we cannot enough mourn its loss. The right arm hangs easily at the side, and the left is extended. Like this statue in general, is also the celebrated "Idolino," that life-size bronze discovered in 1530 in Pesaro, and now in Florence. This work is, however, greatly inferior, in its hard and academic lines, to the fresh beauty of the bronze of the Saburoff collection.

Polycleitos' second great statue, the Diadumenos, was that of a youth binding a fillet about his head,—a motive likewise suggested by scenes in the athletic games. Several statues in marble and bronze, of a youthful figure in the act of binding a fillet about his head, bear so strong a resemblance, in general conception and pose, to Polycleitos' Doryphoros, that there can be no doubt that these statues also are reproductions of some famous original by the master. These are a small bronze in Paris and two marble statues in the British Museum, the one under life-size, long owned by the family Farnese (Fig. 177), and the other of heavier proportions, but more than life-size, discovered at Vaison in France. The latter, with its massive build, flabby muscles, slender ankles, and surface finished in a manner more

in keeping with marble than bronze, seems farther removed from originals of the fifth century than does the smaller, well-knitted frame of the Farnese statue, with its thick ankles and smoother surface. But neither of them can give more than the feeblest conception of Polycleitos' Diadumenos, which, according to Pliny, was a youth of gentle form (*molliter juvenis*), and so highly prized in antiquity, as, at one time, to have brought a hundred talents (\$117,750), an immense sum for a single figure, either in ancient or modern times.⁷²⁰

Until the recent excavations at Olympia, it was supposed that Polycleitos executed, besides his Diadumenos and Doryphoros, five other statues, athletes, seen by Pausanias at Olympia. It is now proved, however, from the character of the inscriptions, that four of these were the work of a countryman of the same name, but of a later day; and that the fifth alone, representing a boy-victor, Kyniscos by name, from Mantinea, was probably by the celebrated master himself. Of this work the pedestal, with a simple moulding, and bearing an inscription, has been found.⁷²¹ On it the footprints of bronze feet prove the interesting fact, that the statue of the boy Kyniscos was about life-size: and, judging from the space between these footprints, we may infer that the victor stood, like both the Doryphoros and Diadumenos, with one foot planted firmly on the ground, bearing the weight of the body; while the other, somewhat farther back, lightly touched the ground with the toes. Of other athletes by Polycleitos, we have only the short notice by Pliny, that one was cleaning himself of the oil used in the wrestling-games (*destringens se*), and that another was nude, and striking with his heel (*nudus talo incessens*).⁷²²

Besides these robust forms of nude youth, the master is said to have executed two *canephoraë* in bronze, described by Cicero in a speech against Verres, who had extorted them from the Mamertine Heius.⁷²³ They were not large, but of great beauty, and in the garb and pose of Athenian maidens, carrying sacred utensils on their heads with raised hands. Since similar maiden priestesses officiated in the ceremonies held in honor of Hera in Doric Argos, it is probable that Polycleitos' bronze *canephoraë* were originally votive offerings from some pious worshipper to her temple.

One portrait alone by him is mentioned, that of Artemon, who, on account of lameness, had to be borne about while superintending his work, as constructor of machines for Pericles in the war against Samos.⁷²⁴

Two nude boys playing at knuckle-bones (*astragalizontes*) were seen in Pliny's time in the *atrium* of Titus' palace, and were considered by some the most perfect works of antiquity.⁷²⁵ But the spirit of this group seems more like that of the age of Polycleitos' younger countryman of the same name. Its composition must have been more complicated than that of the majority of the works of the sterner, older master, depending, necessarily, for its charms upon an intricate interplay of lines, and not alone upon the high, formal beauty of the human shape. A marble boy in the British Museum, from a group of two quarrelling over their game of knuckle-bones, and biting one another, is so thoroughly realistic, and like works of the time after Alexander, at least a century and a half later than the older Polycleitos, that it is absolutely impossible to associate the work with his name.

Leaving the sphere of purely human representations, we find that Polycleitos also represented heroes, and even gods; although his fame did not rest on works of this higher ideal range. Heracles, a hero of athletic character,

Polycleitos represented twice, — once as a leader (*Hageter*) seizing his weapons, and, again, as fighting the Hydra.⁷²⁶ Of his statue of an Amazon we know somewhat more. The story is, that statues of the Amazons were required for the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, that spot where the conquered heroines had taken refuge in mythic ages, when hard pressed by Dionysos.⁷²⁷ The most celebrated artists came together with their statues, to select from among them the best. According to Pliny's anecdote, each gave the preference to his own work; but, after that, all agreed first upon the Amazon by Polycleitos, — the one by Pheidias taking the second, that of Cresilas the third, and that of Phradmon the fourth place. Whatever credence may be given to this tradition, it may contain a kernel of truth, indicating the superiority of Polycleitos' representation of these masculine females. Several types of wounded and fatigued Amazons, incorrectly restored, exist, which doubtless go back to celebrated originals of the time of Pheidias and Polycleitos.⁷²⁸ Among them three distinct types are evident, illustrated in statues in Rome, Berlin, and Paris. One represents an Amazon, who wears a large mantle, and seems to be staying the blood trickling from her wounded breast, with one end of her *chiton* caught up in the left hand. Her head is dropped slightly; and the arm, restored as raised, should, according to a gem now in Paris, be resting on a long spear, which supports the unhappy, conquered woman. The second type shows us, not a wounded, but a wearied, Amazon. She stands resting, with the right hand on some object, now gone, possibly her battle-axe; while her left is placed on her head, in the attitude so often employed to express repose in Greek art. This type wears no mantle, and has the *chiton* symmetrically arranged about the limbs, as represented in statues of the Vatican and Berlin museums. As a combination of these two types may be regarded those statues in which the wound is retained, and the arm rests on a pillar-like support. The third type, showing more elaborate treatment than either of the others, is as yet not thoroughly explained; since no *replica* is preserved with original arms and head. Its best known representative is the Amazon of the Vatican, once owned by the family Mattei. Of these three types, the one of the wearied Amazon, and its variations in the Braccio Nuovo and Berlin Museum (Fig. 178), corresponds most closely with the style of Polycleitos, as seen by comparing the face, pose of legs, and breadth of chest, with the Doryphoros *replicas*. But all these statues have so much of the copyist's arbitrariness, and have been so much tampered with, that they can be but cloudy suggestions of Polycleitos' original, which won the prize over the work of all his contemporaries.

Only two representations of gods are recorded as the work of this master, — one a Hermes, said to have been originally in Lysimachia; and the other a statue of Hera in gold and ivory for her temple on Mount Euboea.⁷²⁹ This very ancient shrine to the great Argive goddess, lying but a few *stadia* removed from Mykene, fell a prey to the flames in 423 B.C.: the wreaths taking fire

while the old priestess slept, the rapidly spreading flames destroyed the temple and many of the sacred images.⁷³⁰ The reconstruction of the temple was, according to Pausanias, undertaken by an Argive architect, Eupolemos; and the erection of its statue of Hera by Polycleitos. This figure was smaller than Pheidias' Olympic Zeus, and appeared seated on a golden throne. The goddess's forehead was adorned with a *stephane* of equal height all around, beautified with reliefs of the Graces and Hours. In one hand she held a pomegranate, and in the other her sceptre, crowned with a cuckoo. Under her feet was a lion's skin; and her whole form, with the exception of neck and white arm, was fully draped.⁷³¹ Nearly six hundred years after its completion, Pausanias saw this statue, but only dwells upon the significance of its numerous attributes, giving no hint as to its art-character. The pomegranate, he says, he will not explain; because an understanding of the legend would require a knowledge of mysteries which he, as an initiated, is not at liberty to reveal. The cuckoo, he says, refers to Zeus' first visit to Hera, transformed into a bird which she playfully caught; but this story, even Pausanias does not believe. Near this goddess by Polycleitos, which, because having many attributes, seems to have held to the old style of representing divinity, was Hera's daughter Hebe, likewise in gold and ivory, from the hand of a younger Argive master, Naukydes, but which, in Pausanias' time, had disappeared. Seventeen centuries have passed, with devastating hand, over the heights of Argos since the Roman traveller stood before these costly statues. It is not strange that modern tourists have found little more than the foundations and some sculptural fragments of the temple. Argos coins of the fourth century, with the head of Hera crowned by a *stephane* of equal height all around, can hardly give us an exact image of Polycleitos' Hera, even though temple-statues seem to have been copied on coins at that early day; but these coins may give in very general forms somewhat the type which then prevailed for Hera.⁷³² It is



Fig. 178. An Amazon, perhaps a Copy of Polycleitos' Amazon. Berlin. (Restored.)

almost as discouraging to seek for a suggestion of Polycleitos' Hera in the marble heads and figures of our museums. The Hera of *epos* was a far-seeing, stern, and jealous goddess. Her epithet, ox-eyed (*boöpis*), is difficult of explanation. Brunn conceives, that to the later Greeks this term indicated a force expressed rather by the position than the shape of the eye; and in a marble bust of the Naples museum, which, on account of its *stephane*, is probably a Hera, he thinks such a force is expressed.⁷³³ Here there is no feminine softness and luxurious beauty such as we see in the famous Ludovisi Hera, but a very marked and almost repellant harshness: the very shape of the *stephane*, of equal width all around, is less graceful than the head-dress worn by other representations of the goddess. The eyes, shaded by heavy eyelids, are not wide open, with the serene look of later Hera ideals, but narrow, and far apart, extending even into the temples, and giving the expression of all-embracing vision. The low but projecting forehead; the sharp, metallic lines of the heavy eyelids; the threatening mouth, with pronounced, almost scornful, under-lip; the large, square chin and small cheeks, in which is no lovely fullness; and the ears, set higher than nature,—all combine with the eyes to make a face, every feature of which speaks the decision and will of the Homeric ideal of Hera, while they mark this head as the echo of a strong time, like that in which Polycleitos lived, and possibly of his celebrated chryselephantine Hera.

Polycleitos was a distinguished architect as well as sculptor. Among the hills of Epidauros, across the bay from Athens, was the most celebrated health-resort of antiquity, sacred to Asclepius, and where his priests directed medical treatment. For the crowds of invalids gathered there, places of amusement as well as houses of worship were in demand, as at watering-places of to-day. Polycleitos built there the theatre and *tholos*. In describing this theatre, Pausanias for once grows enthusiastic, saying, the Romans excel all others in the luxurious richness of their theatres, — for size the theatre of Megalopolis is most remarkable; but what architect could compete with Polycleitos in the truth of proportion and beauty of this work at Epidauros?⁷³⁴ Among the few fragmentary sculptures brought to light from its ruins is a draped female, perhaps representing Hygieia, thought to show some of the traits ascribed by antiquity to Polycleitos. But as he was so emphatically a worker in metal, not a single figure of his in marble being reported, his relationship to these marbles must doubtless be taken with reserve.

All notices of Polycleitos as a painter seem to be based on a confusion of his name with that of Polygnotos, the Thasian painter. His skill in casting in bronze and in *treutic* was great. This latter art, seeming to have reference to the goldsmith's work, as well as to the final chiselling and finishing given to the surface of bronze, he is said to have carried to greater perfection than Pheidias; and Strabo declares, that technically his Hera greatly excelled Pheidias' works,

but did not equal them in size and grandeur.⁷³⁵ Of such importance was careful finish to Polycleitos, that he is reported on one occasion to have said that the work is most difficult when it comes to the nail, meaning probably when the clay model comes to be worked down with the finger-nail; and bronze, best suited to accept such finish from the mould, was the material he used by preference.⁷³⁶

He is said, moreover, to have written a treatise on the proportions of the human frame, giving the principles he had incorporated in his statue "the Canon."⁷³⁷ Here he explained the proportion of finger to finger; of all the fingers to the open hand; of the hand to the wrist; of wrist to elbow; of elbow to arm, and so on, through every member of the body. Vague conjecture alone remains to take the place of treatise and statue, it being altogether improbable that the proportions of Vitruvius were taken from Polycleitos. According to Vitruvius, the distance from chin to crown should be taken as a unit, giving one-eighth of the length of the body; but this gives a slenderness different from the substantial but graceful build of the Doryphoros, as we have it in the Argos relief. An accurate measurement of hundreds of statues would doubtless yield much light on this interesting theme; but even measurements with the eye alone, show us the slenderness of many statues in contrast to those derived from Polycleitos. The Ægina warriors of the west pediment have the head usually about one-eighth of the body, and the body very slim and short for their legs. In the Olympia marbles, there seems a variety of proportions; some figures being long, and others short, in the body. In the Doryphoros and Diadumenos, in which the head is about one-seventh of the length, this slimness, however, disappears, the loins being made fuller, and the body itself longer; the trunk thus predominating, giving the figure a nobler and more stable build. In the age following Polycleitos, Lysippos changed these proportions again, adopting a taller and more slender scale, with a body very short in proportion to the legs.

Although, in comparison with the loftier creations of Pheidias' art, the sternly correct ideals of Polycleitos may suffer; yet his formative influence should not be lost from sight. Pheidias might be admired, but the very loftiness of his genius made imitation impossible: the experience of a Polycleitos, on the contrary, expressed in statues, and written down in books, was an invaluable testament, serving as a sure guide for after-generations. While he did not, according to Quintilian, like his great Attic contemporary, attain to the sublimity of the gods, still he represented the body in dignity and beauty greater than nature.⁷³⁸ Within this sphere he seems to have cared little for variety, if we may believe the same writer, who says Polycleitos avoided the representation of riper years, not venturing beyond smooth cheeks; and, compared with Myron, his works were said to be less varied, and very much after one plan.⁷³⁹ But in this limitation to one type, forming, as it were, the climax

of the series commencing with the Apollo of Thera, and in this developing the human form in quiet to the highest perfection of formal beauty, may we not see great wisdom on the part of the Argive master, even though he lacked the geniality of his brother sculptors of Attica?

Polycleitos' importance as a teacher being such, it is not strange that he had many scholars, and that they in turn handed on the old tradition, so that his school laps far over into the fourth century. Pliny and Pausanias mention several men as his direct scholars.⁷⁴⁰ Among them was a younger Canachos from Sikyon, doubtless a descendant of the ancient master of the same name. Of another, Periclytos by name, we know that he had scholars who lived on into the next century. The remainder of Polycleitos' scholars, with other masters, were employed on a votive offering, seen by Pausanias at Delphi, and made by the Lakedaimonians after their victory (404 B.C.) over the Athenians at Aigospotamoi. The number of statues composing this gift was unparalleled in Greek history. Thirty-three bronze figures of gods and mortal warriors made up its stately bulk. Among them Poseidon was seen crowning Lysander, the victorious Spartan commander; and the seer who foretold the issue of the battle was also there. Even the helmsman on Lysander's ship was honored with a statue, as well as many other warriors. It is a strange fact, that very many different masters from widely scattered places, even from Thebes and Arcadia, were called upon to assist in executing this mammoth votive offering. That this group for Apollo's shrine, as well as other offerings put up in Sparta, were by foreign artists, seems to indicate, that, in that state itself, there had been no development, and that Argos was pre-eminently the centre of art-creation in the Peloponnesos.

Besides the men who are thus definitely mentioned as the scholars of the great Polycleitos, but of whom we know almost nothing, there were others of importance in Argos during the latter part of the century when he lived. The old sculptor Patrokles, with his three sons, Daidalos, Naukydes, and Polycleitos the younger, form a constellation of artists on whose relationship to one another the recent excavations at Olympia have but just thrown clear light.⁷⁴¹ Patrokles, who must have been an old man at the time of the battle of Aigospotamoi, executed several statues for the great Delphic group in its honor; but his fame is altogether eclipsed by that of his three sons. Of these, Naukydes was perhaps the eldest, it being said that he was the teacher of his brother Polycleitos. He executed the Hebe in gold and ivory which stood beside the older Polycleitos' great Hera, a bronze Hecate in Argos, a Discobolos, a Hermes, one offering a ram, and a representation in bronze of the poetess Erinna, who had lived about 600 B.C., at least two centuries before his day.⁷⁴² He also executed statues of athletic victors, seen in Olympia by Pausanias; and the inscription of one to the Rhodian Eucles, is now given back to us

by the excavations.⁷⁴³ Naukydes was the teacher as well of Alypos of Sikyon, concerning whose statues of victors, and for the Delphic group in honor of Aigospotamoi, we have, however, nothing definite.⁷⁴⁴ Concerning his other scholar, his own brother Polycleitos, continually confounded by the ancients with the greater master of that name, we are better informed. He was probably in the vigor of early youth about 400 B.C., having been among the masters who made gifts in honor of Aigospotamoi.⁷⁴⁵ He was active late into the next century, we now know; since his name is found associated with that of his younger countryman, Lysippos of Sikyon, in an inscription recently discovered at Thebes.⁷⁴⁶ Statues by him of victors were seen at Olympia by Pausanias, the inscriptions of several of which have also been discovered.⁷⁴⁷

A Zeus Philios seen at Megalopolis by Pausanias, in form akin to Dionysos, as well as a Zeus Meilichios in marble at Argos, were probably both from his hand, as well as an Aphrodite in bronze for a votive tripod put up by the Spartans at Amyclai, in thanks for their victory at Aigospotamoi.⁷⁴⁸ He executed a bronze Hecate for Argos, which accompanied one in the same material by his brother Naukydes, and one in marble by the Parian Scopas.⁷⁴⁹ It is probable that a marble group of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, near Argos, and mentioned by Pausanias, as well as the knuckle-bone players spoken of by Pliny, were also his work; since he belonged rather to the fourth than to the sterner fifth century, at the extreme lower limit of which we meet him.⁷⁵⁰ Daidalos, his brother, likewise belongs properly to that time; having put up at Olympia a trophy for the people of Elis, in honor of victory over the Lakedaimonians about Olymp. 95 (400 B.C.), as well as sharing in a votive offering for the people of Tegea, for a victory in 369 B.C., Olymp. 102. 4.⁷⁵¹ Of his five statues of athletes at Olympia, described by Pausanias, the inscriptions of but three have been found.⁷⁵² From an inscription discovered at Ephesos, it seems that he was also active in Asia Minor, whither the current of artistic activity was rapidly turning back from Greece.⁷⁵³ One single statue, existing in several *replicas*, Aphrodite cowering in the bath, has frequently been traced back to a supposed original by this Argive master of the earlier half of the fourth century; but it seems more Hellenistic in its spirit, and is, therefore, probably to be attributed to a later Daidalos of Bithynia.⁷⁵⁴

Phradmon of Argos is a master of whom we only know that he executed an Amazon in the rivalry mentioned above, receiving the fourth prize; and that, for a temple to Athena, in Thessaly, he executed twelve bronze cows, — a thank-offering for victory over the Illyrians.⁷⁵⁵

From such stray notices we gather, that the masters of Argos at this time were mainly occupied with the athlete's sturdy frame and with commemorative statues; that bronze was the material they worked in; but that, in the development of the ideals of the great gods, they took little part. Such being the character of Argive art, it is not strange, that, in our marble

relics, there is very little which can with certainty be traced back to its schools.

Excavations were made at Argos in 1854 on the site of Hera's ancient temple, which once sheltered Polycleitos' golden Hera, and the metopes of which Pausanias describes as representing scenes from the birth of Zeus, the combats with the giants, and the Trojan war.⁷⁵⁶ A rich discovery of fragments of colossal, life-size, and smaller figures, besides bits of relief, evincing a rare perfection, rewarded these excavations.⁷⁵⁷ Among these troves were seven heads, twenty fragments of bodies, forty-two of arms and hands, one hundred and fourteen of thighs and feet, and one hundred and sixty of drapery, all of which were stored in a shed in Argos. Dust and spiders immediately plotted a second oblivion for these precious marbles; while many fragments, it is said, have been purloined by tourists, leaving irreparable gaps. Of only two or three fragments have casts been taken, one of which, a small female head in Parian marble, demands our admiration.⁷⁵⁸ These fragments are, then, a stock in reserve, from which we may doubtless yet learn something concerning sculpture in marble in Argos during the latter part of the fifth century B.C. Furtwängler made a hasty survey of them in 1878, when he and Loeschke discovered a box full of fragments hidden away in the *demarchie* of the town.⁷⁵⁹ He found many faces, not, as might be expected, having Argive shapes, but thoroughly Attic ones, and in Pentelic marble; the architecture of the temple strengthens the probability that Attic art here influenced Argive sculptors. The *simæ* are in Pentelic marble; and the ornaments are clearly copied from Attic works, especially the Erechtheion, but fall short of them in excellence.

A few low reliefs found in Argos in the limestone of the country (marble did not exist there) are strongly local in subject and art character.⁷⁶⁰ The subjects vary very slightly, whether on votive or sepulchral slabs, and seem to concern the worship of heroes, in which Argos was especially rich. One class shows us three female figures walking in a stiff row, holding serpents and flowers, and, as their inscriptions imply, representing the mild and forgiving Eumenidæ. There are in all these reliefs a certain straightness of line, flatness of treatment, and squareness in the forms, which remind one of the much older Laconian reliefs discussed above (p. 205), and, although an advance on them, still betray a strongly local, perhaps Doric, coloring, doubtless due, in part, to the stubbornness of the material.

CHAPTER XXII.

SCULPTURE OUTSIDE OF ATTICA DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY (*concluded*).

Artists of this Period. — Phigaleia Sculptures. — Apollo Epicurios. — Metopes. — Frieze. — Its Subjects. — Passionateness in Treatment. — Contrast to Attic Friezes. — Affinities in Style. — Sculpture in other Parts of Peloponnesos. — Paionios of Mende. — His Nike. — Its Discovery. — Its Recent Restoration. — Description of the Nike. — Its Boldness, etc. — Comparison with other Works. — Affinities with Nereid Monument. — Art on the Islands. — Delian Sculptures. — Comparison drawn between them and Paionios' Nike. — Explanation of Resemblances and Differences. — Colotes. — Lykia. — Sculptures from Xanthos. — Tomb. — Peculiarities of Style. — Statuary. — The Nereids. — Their Significance. — Sculptures of Heroön at Gjölbaschi. — Their Subjects. — Deeds of Ulysses depicted. — Other Scenes. — Influence of Painting. — Resemblance to Style of Nereid Monument. — Art in Southern Italy and Sicily. — Patronage of Art by the Tyrants. — Temple-ruins at Acragas. — Ruins at Selinus. — The Metope representing Fate of Actaion. — General Review of this Period.

So far as our literary sources go, we find, that, in the Peloponnesos during the latter half of the fifth century B.C., no other centre vied with Argos in the name and fame of its sculptors; although Sikyon and other places shared in its artistic life. From the inland province, Arcadia, there are preserved to us the names of only four sculptors, — Dameas, Athenodoros, Samolas, and Nicodamos. The first two were scholars of the great Polycleitos, and took part in the mammoth Aigospotamoi gift at Delphi. Of the remaining two we only know that Samolas executed a part of the gift for Tegea described on p. 395, and that Nicodamos had several statues of athletes, as well as an Athena, and boy Heracles slaying with his arrows the Nemean lion, all in Olympia.⁷⁶¹ In antiquity the home of these men, the rocky and inaccessible Arcadia, does not seem to have attracted travellers mainly on account of its art or trade, but by reason of the sanctity of its shrines. At Bassai, near Phigaleia, among its high mountains, are the ruins of one of these temples, once adorned with the admirably preserved sculptures now removed to the British Museum. Ictinos, the celebrated architect of the Parthenon, erected here, on the site of a more ancient shrine, this temple to Apollo Epicurios, who was worshipped as the god of healing, and believed to have kept off pestilence from the land.⁷⁶² The columns of this temple, on a salubrious bluff three thousand feet above the level of the sea, still overlook the land spread out at their feet, commanding ravishing views of mountain and plain away to the blue waters on the

distant horizon, knotty oaks making up the foreground. In 1812 excavations were made on this glorious spot by the discoverers of the Ægina marbles; and pieces of the great temple-statue, as well as much of the sculptural decoration of the building itself, were brought to light.⁷⁶³ The marbles were afterwards bought by the British Museum for sixty thousand *piasters*.

Of the great temple-statue of Apollo Epicurios, only parts of the hands and feet in marble were found, suggesting the possibility that the statue was an acrolith, of which the wooden framework of the body must have perished. This statue occupied the end of a chapel adjoining the *cella*, unlike any thing in other known Greek temples. The temple itself strangely faced the north; but this chapel adjoining it, and opening into the *cella*, like all other shrines, faced the east, where it had an entrance opposite to the sacred image of Apollo. This temple, of the Doric order, by Ictinos, was richly adorned,



Fig. 179. A Part of the Amazon Frieze from the Interior of Temple of Apollo at Bassae near Phigaleia. British Museum.

having sculptured metopes on its front and rear. These are so sadly ruined, that their subjects can no longer be recognized; but the fragments show a skill superior to that manifested in the much better preserved frieze. The pediments seem to have had no sculptures; but in the interior of the *cella*, surrounding its four walls, above Ionic semi-columns, ran a narrow frieze .76 centimeters high ($2\frac{1}{2}$ feet), and elevated 6.86 meters ($22\frac{1}{2}$ feet) from the floor, and consisting of twenty-three slabs, having a total length of nearly 31 meters (101 feet, 3 inches). This complete frieze is carved in a yellowish-gray coarse-grained marble, thought to be from the neighborhood. It is not arranged in the British Museum exactly as it stood in the temple, as recent studies by Ivanoff and Lange of certain technical peculiarities have shown.⁷⁶⁴ Here were represented, in unequal lengths, two great mythic combats, the contest of Greeks with centaurs being somewhat shorter than that with the Amazons. Between the two appeared Apollo the deliverer himself, drawing his bow at the wild centaur hosts in front of him, towards whom he hastened mounted on a chariot drawn by deer, and guided by his sister Artemis. This slab, it has

been shown, occupied such a place on the west side, near the south-west corner of the *cella*, that it could be seen by the worshipper standing before the sacred image in the chapel beyond, thus presenting to him the god in the frieze as passing from the Amazon conflict, now decided, to the one still raging with the centaurs, and giving assurance that these fierce powers of evil should also be conquered.

Along the whole of the long east and shorter south side of the frieze, as the marbles originally stood, the contest raged between Amazons and Greeks. Of this frieze two slabs are represented in Figs. 179 and 180, but on different scales. In the several slabs which occupied the south side, the Greeks seem hard pressed; but on the adjoining slab of the west, which was directly behind Apollo's chariot, an Amazon, wounded and dying, sinks in the arms of a companion (Fig. 179), as if to signify that these turbulent enemies of law and order were indeed overcome. In the very middle of one side was Theseus, known by



Fig. 180. A Part of Amazon Frieze from Temple of Apollo at Bassai near Phigaleia. British Museum.

his fluttering lion's skin and massive club, and in fiercest conflict with a towering, powerful Amazon on foot, and with another on horseback; showing, perhaps, that the myth pictured in this frieze relates to the invasion of Attica by the Amazons, who were expelled by this Attic hero. In this conflict, how varied and intense the struggle, witnessed throughout all stages, from the fiercest hand-to-hand fight where refuge is taken at the altar (Fig. 180), to the care for the wounded! The wildest passions roused by war are expressed in brutal actions, such as the violation of the sanctity of the altar, the dragging thence the Amazon by the hair, and the trampling under foot of the unhappy women; but many tender chords of human feeling are also touched by these intense groups. One Amazon holds her shield over a fallen sister, who shows her anxiety by catching hold of it, as if to draw it still closer. Two others support in their arms the helpless, falling, wounded forms of still beautiful warrior-women. One Greek, with thoughtful, careful step, and arm around a wounded comrade, helps him walk slowly and painfully away, — a group which is found repeated in the newly discovered Lykian reliefs to be discussed later. Another, beyond, carries off from the battle-field, on his strong shoulders, the dead body

of a fellow-warrior ; having dropped his round shield, which an Amazon, eager for the precious trophy, is slyly catching away.

Turning to the other and more doubtful conflict, — that with the centaurs, — we should find that it commenced with the significant scene (Fig. 181) once in the north-east corner of the *cella*. Here two women have fled to an idol. One, fallen on her knees, and with one arm thrown around its stiff form, is already seized by a lusty centaur, who tears the drapery from her beautiful form. The other, as if in despair that even this holy spot is violated, throws out her arms in distress, and seems halting between going and staying. But deliverance is near at hand ; for the strong Theseus, having hung his skin on an adjoining tree, already has the brute by the neck, and will, no doubt, rescue them. Thus the Attic hero, the frightened women, and powerful centaur,



Fig. 181. A Part of Centaur Frieze from Interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai near Phigaleia. British Museum.

introduced the conflicts taken from the story of the wedding of Peirithoös. Close upon this scene there followed, in the middle of the frieze of the north side (British Museum, No. 4), a group in which two tremendous, rearing centaurs have well-nigh buried Caineus, who is vainly endeavoring, with his small shield, to keep off the huge block they are dropping with crushing force upon him. A Greek, however, makes one of these centaurs uncomfortable by clutching his ear ; and behind his protecting shield flies a richly draped woman, her beautiful, fluttering garments well reflecting her anxious speed. One after another, still other combats appear, in which the wild fury of these semi-brutes is felt, even by children, who cling to the necks of frail women, or half fall from their arms. How strongly the brute nature appears in that group in which a centaur, over the fallen body of a fellow, kicks at an enemy's shield behind, while he bites into the neck of a warrior who is stabbing him in front ! Throughout this frieze there is an intensity which is surprising ;

but often its very continuousness wearies the unimpassioned beholder, and fails to awaken sympathy. While many motives seem to occur, met with in Attica, carried up to the superlative, others are altogether new and startling. There is, besides, a decided attempt at foreshortening and pictorial effect, appearing, for instance, in the fallen centaur, and in those who seem to come out of the background, — motives which call to mind their old predecessors, the centaurs of the Olympia pediment. The treatment of the drapery, with its fluttering ends tortured by the wind, is different from any thing we know of elsewhere, except the newly found reliefs at Gjölbaschi, and seems to imply the addition of color. Altogether, though these sculptures are in very high relief, still they make a more pleasing impression in drawings than they do in the marble, which is overcrowded and confused. Coming from Attic friezes with their exquisite feeling for finish, and truly sculptural style, we are sadly disappointed in the execution of these reliefs; there being something coarse and very summary about the vigorous forms, and confusing in the exaggeration of the pictorial element. Moreover, the faces of all, males and females, are unprepossessing, and have no shadow of expression accompanying the violent gestures. As for the composition, it is impossible to find a connection between the different slabs, which seem to consist of a number of single scenes without the unity found in Attic friezes of this age. It is most probable, that here each slab was composed and carved by itself, and put up and fitted to its neighbor afterwards, this having been done often in a very crude manner, as is evident from the slabs, even in their present state. This frieze, having so many reminders of Attic motives, treating so extensively of Attic myth, and decorating a temple built by an Attic master, it has been thought, must be the composition of Attic sculptors, carried out by provincial workmen. Others see, rather, in these sculptures such exaggeration and even coarseness of conception, unlike any thing known of the fifth century, that they suppose them to be the work of Arcadian sculptors, only so far dependent upon Attica as to copy Attic models in some details, while throwing over the composition a robust realism peculiarly their own. In opposition to this view, that Attic influence was here active, some archæologists see here traces of those older Ionian sources from which Attica also drew, and which were strongly pictorial, but must have been here in Phigaleia colored by local peculiarities.

In other parts of the Peloponnesos, during the latter half of the fifth century we hear of but little artistic activity. From Elis two unimportant names, Aristocles and Cleoitias, alone meet us.⁷⁶⁵ In Sparta several ambitious works, of which no notice remains except Plutarch's and Pausanias' dry accounts, seem to have been put up in thanks for the victory of Aigospotamoi and for earlier victories over the Persians.⁷⁶⁶ From Megara, Theocosmos, already spoken of (p. 319), and his son, Callicles, are mentioned as men of note; and, in Northern Greece, one Telephanes of Phokis, according to one story,

executed statues so excellent, that, had they not been as good as buried in remote Thessaly, they would have made him as celebrated as either Polycleitos, Myron, or Pythagoras.⁷⁶⁷ Fragments from Bœotia, such as a celebrated relief of an equestrian rider in the Vatican, very like the Parthenon frieze in style, but in Bœotian marble, show that Attic influence must have already made itself strongly felt in that part of Greece.

From Mende in Thrace, which was settled by Ionians from Asia Minor, we have happily preserved to us the name and certain work of one great master, Paionios, of whom mention has already been made in connection with the sculptures of the east pediment of the Zeus temple at Olympia. While there may be, in the minds of many, doubt as to the part Paionios had in those temple sculptures, still his work and signature is certainly preserved to us in that imposing colossal statue of Nike, mentioned by Pausanias, and with its inscription and lofty pillar discovered at Olympia in 1875.⁷⁶⁸ Pausanias says of it, "The Dorian Messenians, who once had received Naupactos from the Athenians, consecrated at Olympia the Nike on a pillar: she is the work of Paionios of Mende, and was erected on account of a victory over the enemy when, as I believe, they fought against the Acarnanians at Oiniadai (456 B.C.). The Messenians themselves say, however, that they erected this votive offering on account of the victory that they, with the Athenians, won on the island of Sphacteria, but that



Fig. 182. *The Winged Nike by Paionios. Olympia.*

they had left out the name of the enemy in the inscription for fear of the Lakædæmonians, while they had no reason to fear the Acarnanians." Great were the surprise and joy of the excavators in Olympia, as one day, early in the first season of their excavations, they came upon a remarkably shaped triangular base in front of the Temple of Zeus, bearing the very inscription referred to by Pausanias. The next morning there came to light, close by, a more than life-size winged figure in Pentelic marble, the very Nike herself, a treasure still kept in Olympia (Fig. 182). Later, much of the remainder of the lofty triangular pedestal-pillar, about six meters high, on which the now prostrate figure

once stood, was found. On this pedestal is the inscription with letters having the form of the Ionian alphabet, which points to Paionios' connection with the Ionian fatherland, the source of Mende's culture.⁷⁶⁹ This inscription gives the cause of the erection of the statue, the means applied, and the sculptor's name added in smaller characters. It reads about thus: "Messenians and Naupactians have consecrated it to the Olympic Zeus from a tenth of booty taken in war. Paionios, the Mendean made it, who also won, making some part of the temple decoration." About this latter part of the inscription, and the war in remembrance of which the monument was erected, there is much diversity of opinion. Some, accepting the report of the Messenians to Pausanias, think that this imposing offering to Zeus was made after the victory over the Spartans at the battle of Sphacteria, when the Messenians were aided by the Athenians.⁷⁷⁰ In honor of this same victory, the Athenians, we learn from the same author, put up on the Acropolis a bronze Nike.⁷⁷¹ This battle, which took place 424 B.C., would then, it is thought, give the approximate date of the erection of Paionios' colossal marble statue of the goddess of Victory. But others, concurring with Pausanias in his opinion, believe that this monument was in commemoration of the earlier victory, that over the Acarnanians in 456 B.C.; moreover, the talk of the Messenians about leaving out the names of the enemy in the inscription has been shown to have little weight. The supporters of this latter view do not believe that we have any right to sunder this work by Paionios more than from twenty to twenty-five years from his temple sculptures at Olympia, executed about 460 B.C.⁷⁷² Whichever view is adopted, this marble statue must have been executed during the latter half of the fifth century B.C.

But let us study the statue itself, casts of which have rapidly multiplied, and are to be seen in Berlin, London, and Boston. The fragments of the statue in plaster-casts have been most skilfully adjusted, and their suggestions carried out in a very agreeable reproduction by the sculptor Grüttner at Berlin (Selections, Plate XIV.). The intent of the beautiful statue is unmistakable: it is Nike, the winged goddess of victory, shooting down to earth through the ether. We almost hear the rush of her drapery and the whizzing of her powerful wings as she approaches. Shoulder and bosom are bared by the unclasping of her thin *chiton*; and, as the wind blows it against her slender form, we see the full grace of the floating vision. One leg, from which the transparent drapery has blown back, forms a beautiful contrast in its quiet surfaces to the agitated lines of countless fluttering folds on each side. The ankles only touch the clouds beneath, through which an eagle flies aslant, his head and a part of one wing alone being indicated in sculpture, the remainder, doubtless, having been left to painting. Swelling out in a tremendous sweep behind is her outer mantle, caught from flying off entirely by her raised left hand; the broad surface, broken by the wind, forming a fine background to the marble figure, which

might otherwise have appeared too attenuated as it stood away up on its lofty pedestal (over six meters high). The movement of the left hand and arm is determined from the fragments, but that of the right is less sure. Experiments by Herr Grüttner, which made her catch the end of her garment with this hand, showed that such a position would impede the movement of her wings, and, besides, have hindered the sculptor in working out the back part of the *chiton*, which, from the preserved fragments, is seen to have been labored upon. As the mantle in the restoration sweeps, his chisel could, without endangering the rest, have reached the hidden parts between it and the body. In her right hand, which was lowered, but of which no fragments are preserved, she may have held some symbol. This point alone is doubtful in the restoration, where she receives the *tænia*, a symbol suitable to be borne by the goddess of victory. On coins of this and the coming age, Nike bears most frequently a round wreath, apparently of olive-leaves.⁷⁷³ On one coin of Elis, however, she carries a long *tænia*: very seldom does she bear the loose olive-bough or palm-branch.⁷⁷⁴ Of the head, the back and top alone are preserved; but these show that her hair was bound about with a *tænia*. In representing her face, the restorer has followed the general type of the most advanced faces of the Olympia marbles, but made its details more like the faces of the latter half of the fifth century B.C.

How bold the subject of this statue for marble, which here, disregarding all physical laws, fairly floats before us! and how admirably suited the proportions of the figure for the lofty place it once occupied! When seen on a level with the eye, it is unpleasantly long and drawn out, lacking altogether the robust grace of the Parthenon figures. But when raised on high, as may be seen in a cast in Berlin, the effect of air and perspective is such, that we forget altogether this impression, and receive one of lithe and airy grace. Could we imagine the colossal statue as standing on its lofty pedestal, in front of the pillars of the great temple, and towering up in the midst of the surrounding green of the sacred grove, then should we be fully able to judge of Paionios' skill in giving wings to marble, and to participate in the admiration which this statue aroused in antiquity, as witnessed to by its copies preserved in bronze and terra-cotta.⁷⁷⁵

But what are the affinities of this remarkable statue by Paionios, so different from every thing of this age transmitted to us from Attica? A casual glance might possibly notice in this Nike, with her agitated drapery, a resemblance to some of the figures of the Parthenon; but a more careful comparison will show how vital the difference. In the nude, those matchless sculptures throb with an inner life which we miss in the Nike. The protruding abdomen below the tightly drawn girdle unpleasantly suggests the defects, not toned down, of a living model, but imitated closely with a lack of the nobler taste evident in the Parthenon figures. The drapery, moreover, is in places con-

fused, and lacks the exquisite grace and limpid simplicity of the Attic style. The whole statue seems more pictorial than sculptural; and without detracting from Paionios' merit in compelling marble so gracefully to do his bidding, still, when compared with the Parthenon statues, we feel that a keener sense of the truly beautiful and appropriate in marble inspired the Attic masters. Comparing, however, Paionios' Nike with a Nike found on Delos, and with a larger fragment of another figure from the same island, as well as with the floating, leaping Nereids of that great funereal monument found at Xanthos in Lykia, and now in the British Museum, we find a striking relationship. Not only in the repeated motive of holding the drapery, but also in its transparency, its dry treatment of the surface, and general pictorial character, is there great affinity between this work of the Ionian Paionios, the monuments of Ionian Delos, and those of Lykia, which probably felt the influence of the art of the neighboring Ionia. Whether Paionios actually came under the influence of Pheidias, we do not know; but the affinities of his statue point away from, rather than to, Athens; and it is possible that he only drew his inspiration from the same source as did the Athenians, — namely, from the older Ionian head waters.

Passing now to consider the art of the islands during this period, we know that many great men were drawn thence into the stream of activity at Athens, there to work with Pheidias. Thus, Agoracritos and others were from Paros, and Alcamenes from Lemnos; but, of the works on the islands themselves, we as yet know very little. Happily, however, recent discoveries on Delos have begun to throw light on the works of this time, and also to widen our range of vision with regard to them. On Delos, where archaic Ionian art, as we have seen, collected so many gifts in marble to the gods, several fragments of a developed style have been discovered, which at first sight seemed to belong to the pediments of a temple.⁷⁷⁶ Of these fragments, one group was found at the west front of a small temple adjoining the one to Apollo, and the other at its east front. Furtwängler, during a short stay at Delos, perceived still other fragments belonging with them, and succeeded in proving that we have parts of the crowning *acroteria* of both ends of the ancient temple. Contrary to all preconceptions, these were much larger than *acroteria* of temples of the great time had been supposed to be. Such large groups have hitherto been considered creations of the Roman age, which exaggerated every thing it touched. But these beautiful fragments from Delos show with what taste large groups were applied by the Greeks to the summits of their temples, and make it probable that to the Romans must be charged only the vicious addition of figures to the slopes.⁷⁷⁷

The central *acroteria* from Delos consisted of fragments, which, according to Furtwängler's proposed restoration, made up two beautiful, excited groups, similar in subject and treatment, but so agreeably varied that every trace of

monotony was avoided, and perfect symmetry preserved. Thus, above the summit of the east pediment towered a group (Fig. 183), in which a powerful winged man, having caught in his grasp a helpless female, seems to speed away. About her members the drapery floats in the excited haste of her motion, as she is being borne off, to the astonishment of two attendant maidens one on each side. A small horse in the foreground gallops away, thus sharing in the excitement of the scene. Of this group, large fragments of every figure except the maiden to the right have been discovered; but, from the analogy of a figure preserved from the group at the opposite end of the temple, it is evident that such a figure was here also. In this eastern *acroterion*, there can be no doubt that we have the rough north wind Boreas, carrying off the beautiful



Fig. 183. *Acroterion of Temple on Delos as restored by Furtwängler.*

daughter of Erechtheus, Oreithyia, whom he is fabled to have made his wife. This myth is constantly represented on Attic vases, where Boreas, with his accompanying name, appears in the same garments as here, and having the same rough, stormy character. The horse is intimately connected in Homeric myth with Boreas, who was the father of twelve wind-fleet colts;⁷⁷⁸ and the animal is, doubtless, here added as his most suggestive symbol, as well as being a necessary support for the marble form of Oreithyia, who, in the instantaneousness of her motion, would, besides, give the impression of toppling over, were it not for the firm horizontal mass of the horse at her feet. How striking the resemblance between the treatment of this figure, as her drapery floats about the legs, to that of Paionios' Nike!

But the resemblance of that master's Nike is still more striking to the figures that must have formed the corner *acroteria*, of which a large fragment

has been preserved, showing that figures of Nike, in exactly the same pose as Paionios' statue, crowned the corners of this temple at Delos.

While the group, already discussed, of Boreas and Oreithyia seems to have direct reference to Attic myth, the *acroterion* of the opposite end must have been in a more general sense Ionian in its character.⁷⁷⁹ Here the large goddess Eos carries off in her arms the young Kephalos, to give him immortality; while his dog leaps away, frightened, from the scene, and two maidens flee, one in each direction. This draped, winged Eos, speeding away with a nude lad in her arms, corresponds to, and yet contrasts beautifully with, the powerful nude Boreas carrying off the draped Oreithyia.

To gain an idea of the time when these works must have been executed, there should be noticed the similarity in the treatment of the drapery to that of Paionios' Nike, as well as the build of the forms, less luxurious than those of the fourth century. Thus, as in well-certified works of the Pheidian age, here also the female shoulders are broad and massive, the breasts are high and wide apart, and the hips are narrow. Moreover, the eyes are not deeply set, as we may notice in the head of Oreithyia; and the hair is severely simple in its arrangement and treatment, as in the fifth century, but not in later times. Such features, as well as certain architectural peculiarities of the building which these sculptures adorned, doubtless fix their date as some time during the latter half of the fifth century B.C., or, as more closely conjectured by Furtwängler, 425 B.C., when great festivities to Apollo, and special purifications of his temple on Delos, were observed.⁷⁸⁰

But with all the general similarity between these Delian sculptures and those known to us from Attica, as seen in a certain severity of style, yet how different the stormy speed and intensely picture-like treatment of these compositions, seeming in their fluttering lines fairly to defy all laws arising from the ponderous and fragile nature of their material. In consequence of these peculiarities, they appear, not to have been executed under Attic influence, but show great affinity with Paionios' Nike, and the marbles of the so-called Nereid monument discovered in Lykia. The tempting theory to account for these shades of difference has been proposed by Furtwängler, that, in this family of sculptures, we have the work of the older, broader Ionian stock, in which sculpture must have been largely under the influence of great painters, in whom it was especially rich, but of whom we chance to know little, their activity in Athens alone being recorded.

From Asia Minor itself, that cradle of ancient Ionian art, we have the name of but one master of this age, namely, Colotes, who aided Pheidias at Olympia. Although as yet sculptures of this developed age have hardly been found in Ionian Asia Minor, still, in neighboring Lykia to the south, monuments so near of kin to those we have been discussing have been found, that we may appropriately consider them here.

LYKIA.

Of the few archaic sculptures found in Lykia, we have already spoken, and attempted to point out their peculiar coloring (p. 185). Far more numerous, but showing the same tendencies, are the monuments of a more advanced style. This in so many points resembles that of dated monuments of the latter half of the fifth century, that we gain thereby a clew to the approximate age of these riper Lykian carvings. Very many ancient sites furnish witnesses to the extent and quality of art in Lykia during this age. The long-known ruins of Xanthos, Myra, Limyra, Pinara, Telmessos, and Cadyanda still harbor many marbles, or have given them up to the British Museum. Gjölbaschi, the ancient name of which is not known, has, within the last two years, sent a stately array to Vienna.⁷⁸¹ These sculptured monuments belong, not to temples, which are scarce, but to family-tombs, sometimes built by the wealthy Lykians while alive, as in the case of the curious tomb of Pajafa, the upper part of which was removed bodily to the British Museum. On it, the inscription informs us that Pajafa, the satrap, built it for himself and his servants.⁷⁸² Many of these tombs are carved out of the solid rock in the mountain side: others are massively built up as detached structures. Every precaution was taken against the possibility of violation: curses were invoked in the inscriptions on those who disturbed the dead. The tomb, when built, was placed on a lofty substructure; and, when carved out of the rock, its entrance was, in every case, at least six meters above ground, only to be reached by ladders or cords.⁷⁸³

The sculptural finish, as the tombs now stand, consists of long friezes, or of detached scenes, sometimes carved in the face of the rock, or applied to the exterior of the built tombs and their enclosing walls. The only instance in which statuary has been extensively discovered is in connection with the celebrated so-called Nereid monument, probably the tomb of the rich Lykian satrap, Pericles. It far surpasses the rest of the Lykian remains, except those at Gjölbaschi, in the luxuriousness of its material, and the abundance of its sculptures, now to be seen crowded in the new Lykian room of the British Museum. The base of this monument, having a considerable height, still crowns one of the hills of Xanthos, overlooking the valley, and separated by a ravine from the Acropolis itself.⁷⁸⁴ Fragments of architecture and sculpture, in great numbers, were strewn about the site in such a way, that the discoverer, Sir Charles Fellows, believed them to belong to one building, which must have been precipitated by an earthquake. But the plan of the excavations having been made from memory, the reconstruction of the monument is necessarily unsatisfactory, and in many details very questionable.⁷⁸⁵ In general, there can be little doubt that it consisted of a lofty base, about five meters high, which was surmounted by an Ionic temple. This in many details reminds us directly of the Ionic architecture of Athens,

as seen in the capitals of the Erechtheion: but still, it shows arbitrary and ugly variations; betraying, it would seem, the native builder, who, while having the same motives, did not use them as nobly as did the Attic masters. The sculptures are very similar in style to others scattered through Lykia, doubtless, also, betraying a native origin. In many cases they seem to draw from the same source whence came patterns used in the latter part of the fifth century in Greece itself; but they show a tendency to make these coarser and cruder.⁷⁸⁶ This costly tomb at Xanthos was decorated with four friezes, varying in width and excellence; two pediments with reliefs; nineteen single statues; and two groups, which doubtless formed *acroteria*.⁷⁸⁷ The widest of the friezes, a part of which is represented in Fig. 184, measures ninety-six centimeters in height, and is in Parian marble. There can be little doubt that it surrounded the entire base, or *podium*, at about a man's height above the ground. It represents throughout warriors in excited battle. The combatants here are heavily armed, or clad in tight *chitons*, all girded low at the waist. Some of the shields have a peculiar addition, not found elsewhere in sculpture. It is a representation of a heavy cloth hanging from the lower side to protect the warrior, — illustrating actual armor, — and showing a realism not met with in Attic sculpture, but calling to mind painting on vases of the fifth century, which doubtless reflect the influence of the great Ionian painters of the day.⁷⁸⁸ One of these curious shields, with a hanging, is borne by the warrior represented in Fig. 184 behind the rearing horse. In the introduction of such pictorial motives, we may see the strong characteristics of these marbles, which, as Furtwängler with much reason believes, must have drawn their inspiration from the Ionian school of painting. The composition of this frieze, in single highly excited groups of a few figures each, is more agreeable than that of the others of this monument, although the execution does not surpass that of the second frieze. In a few cases great skill is shown in poses which indicate indecision, or waiting to strike; but the repetition of the same motive, the absence of expression

Fig. 184. Part of the Widest Frieze from the so-called Nereid Monument. Xanthos. British Museum.



on the most of the faces, and lack of finer individualizing of the forms, cause one soon to weary. Close observation will find many motives which seem direct reminiscences of Attic sculpture of the second half of the fifth century. Such are the fallen warriors under the horses' legs, like those of the Athena Nike temple frieze. Several of the horses seem almost taken from the Parthenon frieze, and two of the heads from the shield of the Athena Parthenos. But the fluttering skirts, the transparent drapery, and the mode of warfare, in all of which there is much that is very pictorial, show, on the whole, a style nearer akin to other Lykian sculptures, such as those on a rock-tomb at Limyra, a tomb-building at Telmessos, and on a tomb-enclosure discovered at Gjölbaschi.⁷⁸⁹ Judging from the remarkable import of the remaining friezes, we may conclude that the warlike experiences of the tomb-occupant are here celebrated; although it is possible that some mythic battle is intended. The second frieze, also of Parian marble, but somewhat narrower, being sixty-two centimeters high, was carved in higher, more square relief, and surrounded, no doubt, the top of the solid stylobate of the tomb. It represents scenes of attack and siege with all the prosaic truthfulness of actual warfare. Here



Fig. 185. A Part of the Second Frieze from the Nereid Monument. Xanthos. British Museum.

is an army marching in closed ranks. An attack is being made at a city-gate (Fig. 185). A ladder placed against it, and held by two warriors kneeling at its base, is mounted by very large soldiers; while within the fortifications are to be seen long-haired men. In another part of the same frieze, the fortress is hard pressed by besiegers. In each of its openings is seen a soldier's head, indicating, doubtless, the strength of the garrison; while the distress prevailing within is expressed by the gestures of a woman throwing her arms wildly above her head. Still a third time the fortress appears, but empty, guarded only by one or two soldiers; while the conqueror outside, seated in state with an umbrella held over his head, like an Oriental tyrant, receives two bearded men, who seem to parley with him concerning the conquered. Although in this frieze the execution is excellent, showing a practised chisel and an acquaintance with good models, still how different this realistic and pictorial manner of representing victory and landscape from that of reliefs found on Greek soil. Many parallels to this mode of representation, however, exist on other Lykian monuments as on the tomb of Märähi, now in the British Museum; on a tomb at Tlos, a cast of which is in the British Museum, Nos. 126, 127; as well as on reliefs at Pinara,⁷⁹⁰ where the whole city seems to be pictured; and on those in Vienna, from Gjölbaschi. In all these we may believe that scenes from paintings floated before the sculptor's mind. This pictorial element prevails to such an extent throughout Lykian sculptures as

to make it evident that the subtle, plastic sense of the pure Greeks was lacking among the men who executed them. The scenes on this second frieze, from their correspondence with the account of the siege of Telmessos as given by Theopompos, make it probable that the fall of that town before Pericles, the satrap of Lykia, is here represented; his splendid career thus being pictured on his tomb.⁷⁹¹ The date of this prince is somewhat doubtful; but there are reasons for placing him in the latter quarter of the fifth century B.C., an age which would tally with the style of these sculptures, so akin to friezes of that time in Greece itself.⁷⁹² In these warriors we see the same treatment of relief as in the Parthenon, the girdles girded far down, the emphasis given to the lower end of the chest, and the eyes almost in full front, where the faces are in profile. These characteristics, besides many resemblances to the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike, in the way in which the form is made to show through the drapery, go to make it probable that these sculptures in Lykia are products of about the same time, and not of a later day, as has usually been supposed on account of their excited motion. The third frieze of this Xanthos tomb, of common Asia-Minor marble, and only forty-five centimeters in height, ran along, strangely enough, immediately above the Ionic pillars of the same marble. In Greek buildings a plain or simply banded architrave was always interposed between the frieze and the pillars, thus better framing the sculptures than here. The subjects of this third frieze are exceedingly real: gifts of animals, rabbits, a goose, kids, besides baskets of various sorts, are brought. Hunting and battle scenes are also seen, for which there are frequent parallels on other Lykian tombs.⁷⁹³ This third frieze is very inferior work, and mainly interesting as a chatty tale of the doings of Pericles and his associates. The fourth frieze, but forty-three centimeters high, and carved in Asia-Minor marble, is of better workmanship, and probably crowned the *cella*-walls of the tomb-temple. Here animals are being led to the altar: men stand quietly leaning on their staves, seemingly in conversation, recalling similar groups on the Parthenon frieze, and excellent in execution. A peculiarly Asia-Minor scene is also represented (compare frieze from temple at Assos). Eighteen men, reclining on couches, partake of viands brought to them by male and female servants, who hasten back and forth, concerned that all go on well. High jars of wine stand around. A dancing-girl, in long garments, amuses the guests from her raised stand. The richer couch, with a dog lying under it, is doubtless occupied by Pericles himself, the lord in whose honor the feast is held. The winged figure of Nike approaching him, with hand extended, and once doubtless holding a wreath, shows that in this scene his victories are celebrated. Similar festive scenes occur frequently in Lykian monuments, in which the wife and family also share. Some of these are among the most attractive specimens of Lykian sculpture: thus, the colored sculptures of the rock-tomb at Myra, a part of which exist in casts in the British Museum, show such grace

and skill in detail, that they well may be ranked with this Nereid monument. This Myra relief has the feast separated into three parts. In one a semi-nude, bearded man reclines, and raises high his *rhyton*; while a nude boy stands by. A beautiful, seated, fully draped female sits in another part, attended by a girl and boy. Still again, other members of the household appear, each an agreeable figure, but, in the straggling and disconnected putting together, quite different from the compact composition of Attic tomb-reliefs.

On a tomb at Cadyanda, reliefs of similar, but still more graceful, character occur, and show the introduction of children being fondled by their mothers. One holds her child, as in the so-called Leucothea relief of the villa Albani; another presses it to her breast; and a graceful group of four are intent upon some game.^{793a}

But to return to Pericles' sumptuous tomb at Xanthos: in one pediment a battle-scene occurs, in which a rider, doubtless Pericles himself, appears as if triumphant. In the other, he is seated with his wife, child, and faithful dog, in such dignity, that he has been taken for Zeus. The statues of this tomb are far more puzzling than the reliefs. Of these, four strangely conventional and fierce lions — two of which are in the British Museum — crowned, it is thought by Furtwängler, the corners of the pediment as *acroteria*. It is worthy of notice, that they greatly resemble the same beast on the terra-cottas from Melos, discussed above, p. 234, which are doubtless genuine Ionian creations.⁷⁹⁴ Others have thought these lions must have stood below the pillars, but their shapes seem to militate against this theory. Two groups of youths carrying off maidens are also difficult of explanation; but Furtwängler believes, that, with the smaller forms among the Nereids, they made up the central *acroterion* of the structure, which must have been large like the *acroteria* of the Delos temple, and, perhaps, represented the rape of the daughters of Leukippos by the Dioscuri.⁷⁹⁵

There remain the lively, swiftly moving crowd of female figures, giving the name to the monument, a few of which are represented in Fig. 186. They are all clad in light, transparent drapery, and poised, for the most part, in mid-air; their garments alone being attached to the solid earth by means of some small symbol, — a sea-animal, a crab, a fish, or a duck, — above which they seem to float. They are all nearly life-size, and, like the two widest friezes, are in Parian marble. From signs of attachment, found between the columns in the temple-part of the tomb, raised high in air, there can be little doubt that these rushing, maidenly forms stood one in each intercolumniation, and, "by filling up the void spaces," to use Falkener's words, "appeared to give strength and compactness to the ærostyle arrangement; and the balance of parts is such, that it is difficult to say whether the statues were made for the intercolumniations, or the opposite."⁷⁹⁶ The great similarity of these statues to one another, their dolphin-like leaping movements, together with

their attributes, which are all marine, mark them as belonging to the sisterhood of the fifty daughters of Nereus, conceived to have sported, like true denizens of the sea, in and about its depths.⁷⁹⁷ How bold the effort on the part of the sculptor to represent in marble such fleeting beings! Compared with Paionios' Nike and the Delos *acroteria*, there are many points of resemblance. Here we have the same broad, flat chest, the narrow hips, the deeply placed girdles, the open Doric *chiton*, the rapid movement, and the drapery caught up and bulging out behind the back, the addition of small attributes at the feet taking animal forms, and, in general, the same pictorial conception controlling the sculptor. The execution is, however, less successful, being much dryer than in the more generous forms of Paionios' Nike. But, because so well preserved, these lively figures, with their transparent drapery, offer us priceless testimony to a stream of art, pictorial in its nature, which owed, no doubt, much of its inspiration to painting, and ran parallel with Attic art. The heads, probably destroyed by Christian iconoclasts, are all gone.⁷⁹⁸ Were these and the lost arms preserved, doubtless much of the impression of exaggeration made by the statues would be modified. The whole female form, appearing through the sheer garments, is thin and meagre, and the surface lacking in enlivening detail; one figure alone being, to some extent, an exception. The gauze-like drapery is monotonous, and astonishingly pictorial in its treatment, especially where caught up. A channel cut the whole length of each fold destroys, moreover, whatever plastic vigor the drapery might otherwise have had. Could we see these figures projected on a flat surface, the pictorial impression would, no doubt, be more agreeable than it now is, and suggest antique painting, such as the beautiful flying figures of Pompeii.



Fig. 180. Three Nereids from the Nereid Monument. Xanthos. British Museum.

But what may be the purport of this leaping, lively throng of Nereids about the grave of a Lykian monarch, otherwise encircled only by scenes commemorating his victories and earthly pastimes? Welcker and Ulrichs imagined, that, in the popular fancy, these marine beings would appropriately come from the tortuous bays and gulfs bounding Lykia, to celebrate these victories.⁷⁹⁹ The Nereids were, in ancient belief, most frequently connected with the Isles of the Blest, and hence associated with the immortal state of heroes and great

men. To those isles Thetis, accompanied by the Nereids, escorted her son Achilles to become immortal; there the Athenians believed their martyred Harmodios to dwell; but especially did royal princes participate in the immortal saintship of those islands, about which sported the Nereids, in whose company, according to Pindar, eternal life was given to Ino.⁸⁰⁰ On Roman sarcophagi, where Nereids surround or even hold the portrait of the deceased, there can be no doubt that they symbolize the blessed state of the dead; but so poetic a conception in art doubtless originated much earlier than in that late prosaic age. According to Michaelis, we may consider this monument to be the first instance in which Nereids appear as signifying the sojourn of a king in the Isles of the Blest. Moreover, we know that the Lykians were fond of kindred allegorizing scenes, such as the souls being borne away on the so-called Harpy tomb.

Happily, still another Lykian monument, magnificent in extent, has at last been rescued from oblivion. This is a splendid *Heroön* discovered by J. A. Schönborn at least forty years ago. Since that day it has remained unnoticed until the Austrians, under Benndorf and Petersen, in 1881, again went in its search, and were amply rewarded for their untold hardships by the importance of the sculptures found, which are now transported to Vienna.⁸⁰¹ In the midst of a wild, almost Alpine, landscape, near the retired village of Gjölbaschi, an imposing wall was discovered, enclosing a large, court-like space, within which were the ruins of the tomb proper,—a huge sarcophagus, about which were found only fragments of relief and a part of one statue. The enclosing wall was, however, rich in its adornments, both within and without. The southern, or entrance, wall (Fig. 187), was elaborately decorated on the exterior; while all the inner walls had their finish in two rows of sculpture near the top, but strangely enough, in composition like painting, the scenes passed over occasionally from one row into the other. In the centre of the south wall is the elaborate portal, now so high above the surrounding soil that it is difficult to clamber up into it. Over this portal were four kneeling winged steers, between which were rosettes and a Gorgon head in low relief. Just below this protecting decoration, warding off evil, as it were, appeared, as in other Lykian tombs, the deceased and his family, here accompanied by a dog and tortoise. Fortunately no clamps had been employed in building these solid walls, for they would doubtless have been torn down in search for the metal. As it is, the sculptures, for the most part, still faced the walls in their original position until removed to safer quarters by the Austrians; and so their interpretation is a much easier task than it would otherwise have been. But they had suffered much from their exposure for ages to the corroding sea-air and the winds of the Mediterranean. The stone used is from the neighborhood, and porous in its nature. Although marble-like in appearance when first cut, it gains in time a gray color; and its grain is such that the original surface-finish, so necessary

to full expression in sculpture, has vanished. But, notwithstanding all this, enough remains to be of great archæological interest; showing us, as it does, the influence of the Ionian painters on sculpture, and teaching us how those old sculptors interpreted into stone many myths recorded in verse by the Homeric poets, but heretofore only known to us in art through humble vase-paintings, or crudest Etruscan reliefs.

On the entrance-wall the scenes were mainly of intense contest. Those in the upper frieze, to the right of the gateway, represented a combat between warriors, several of whom were mounted. Possibly here was intended a battle between Greeks and Orientals, or Amazons; but the variety of cos-

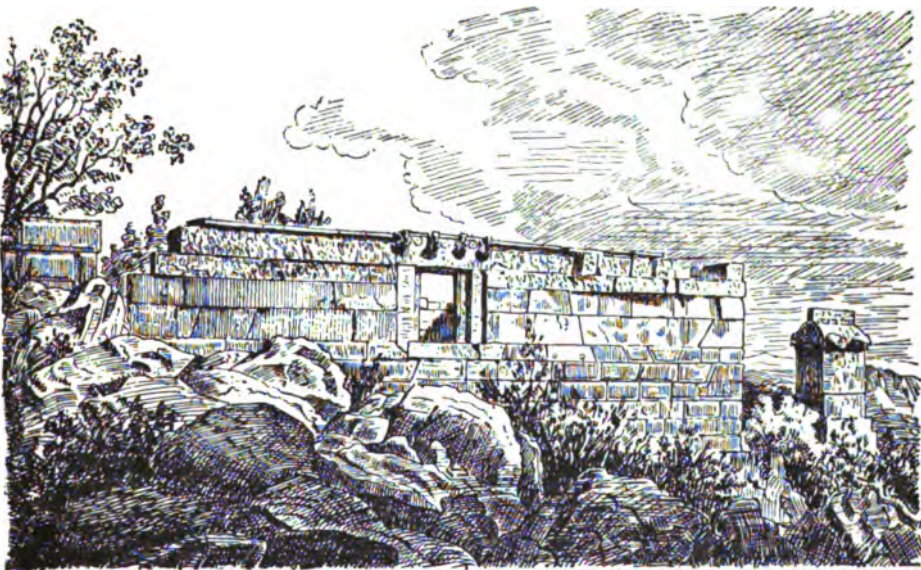


Fig. 187. View of Great Heroön at Gölbaşı. Lykia (Southern Wall).

tume is such that it is difficult to decide this question. Below was a hot contest between Lapithæ and centaurs, a few of the motives being those met with in the friezes of the Temple of Theseus at Athens, and of Apollo at Phigaleia. The scenes to the left of the door, although separated in two rows of relief, seem to have been conceived as belonging together. Here, in the upper row, the mythic expedition of the seven against Thebes was recognized by Petersen among the sadly injured blocks. Capaneus, who, according to myth, boasted, that, even should Zeus' lightnings assail him, he would still scale the walls of Thebes, is here seen falling backward from the ladder, fatally wounded by the lightning, which does not, however, seem to have been expressed in the relief. Amphiaraos, who, according to myth, was swallowed up by the earth when fleeing on his chariot from Thebes, here sinks into the earth, the wheels and horses' legs having already disappeared, while he

stands upright, looking up and trying to protect his head with his right arm, perchance from the shafts of the "Thunderer." A veiled deity, perhaps Zeus himself, is enthroned above this scene; and the remainder of the frieze is occupied with contending warriors, all Greek in costume. Corresponding to Amphiaraos' sinking chariot, in the extreme end away from the door, there were seen close by the door leaping steeds and a beautiful chariot, doubtless bearing away Adrastus, the only one of the seven who, according to myth, survived the fatal siege of Thebes. Below Adrastus' chariot, as the reliefs stood, a throned man received messages, doubtless of the coming battle, in which the landing of warriors from ships had a part, prows being seen at the opposite end of the frieze. But what mythic, or possibly historical, battle is here represented has not yet been recognized.

Stepping inside of the massive encircling wall into the enclosure, we should find, that, on each side of the gateway, very graceful figures of dancing-youths, standing on tiptoe, and wearing a *calathos* and transparent drapery, had their place; while above, eight strange, dwarfish sprites, as repulsive as the god Bes of Egypt, were making music for this peculiar dance. This dance, though usually celebrated in honor of Demeter and the Asia-Minor Artemis, here in Lykia had a very appropriate funereal application, being often seen on Lykian sarcophagi, where sometimes girls instead of youths stand on tiptoe, with the strange, basket-shaped *calathos* on the head.⁸⁰²

But how varied the subjects, and how extensive the decoration, that was spread out on the interior of this great court, on each side of the door, and all along the walls, sometimes at their top, and sometimes somewhat below! Here appeared the favorite Lykian myth of Bellerophon slaying the Chimæra; scenes of feasting and dancing, which seem a reflex of actual funereal repasts and celebrations; besides many scenes of Homeric and other myth, such as the slaying of Penelope's suitors, the hunt of the Caledonian boar, the rape of the daughters of Leukippos, contests of centaurs, Amazons, and many of the single deeds of Theseus. Centaur and Amazon contests were represented, both on the exterior and interior. So rich is the sculptured story, that as yet the poetic web, into which the sculptors wove their stories, has not been unravelled. It seems almost as though the field they had to occupy was so great, that, without any particular connection, they poured out of their store of national legends such as they had ready expression for; and that they thus held to traditional types already developed, is evident at every turn. So in the Caledonian hunt, as frequently on vases, the boar occupies about the middle of the scene, and is attacked by dogs in front and behind. Above him Theseus swings his club; and in front Meleager hurls his lance, supported by the mighty, well-armed Peleus, carrying a short sword, and by the graceful Atalante, balancing on tiptoe in her eagerness, and shooting the arrow which is first to strike the destroying brute. On one side, somewhat removed from the

hard-pressed boar, two heroes are bearing off Ancaios, fabled to have received his fatal wound in this great hunt ; and on the other side a hero falls at the feet of his comrade. Still a third is wounded, but able to walk away, leaning on the shoulder of his fellow. This pleasing group clearly follows some type which floated in the mind of the sculptor of the Amazon frieze of Phigaleia, or else is a copy of it, as some think. At Phigaleia the wounded man's noble form appears in beautiful contrast to that of his draped companion, and the two are closely drawn together. Here the wounded is fully clad, even to a cap, and tries to support himself in part by his long stick.

One of the most unique of these storied scenes, and hitherto only pictured to us in feeblest Etruscan reliefs and in a vase-painting, is that where Odysseus (Ulysses) wreaks his vengeance on Penelope's shameless suitors. This scene appears in the frieze which occupied the inner side of the entrance on the south wall (Fig. 188, *a, b*). Following the story, as we have it in Homeric myth,⁸⁰³ we hear that the suitors for Penelope's hand often —

“ Hastened to the halls
Of the divine Ulysses, where they laid
Their cloaks upon the benches and the thrones,
And slaughtering the choice sheep and fatling goats
And porkers, and a heifer from the herd,
Roasted the entrails, and distributed
A share to each. Next mingled they the wine
In the large bowls.”

Then we hear how

“ Pallas, the goddess of the azure eyes,
Woke in the mind of sage Penelope,
The daughter of Icarius, this design :
To put into the suitor's hands the bow,
And gray steel rings, and to propose a game,
That in the palace was to usher in
The slaughter.”

We see Penelope climb the lofty stair, and take down the bow, and see her go into the great hall, and stand by the “columns that upheld” “the stately roof,” a “lustrous veil before her cheeks,” and “on either side of her a maid.” Then we see the trial of the bow, and Eumaios take it from the suitors, and hand it to Ulysses. We hear Telemachos bid his mother withdraw, and hear her weep “her well-beloved lord” Ulysses, till the “blue-eyed Pallas came, and poured upon her lids the balm of sleep.” We see Ulysses try the bow, turning it, “eyeing it from side to side,” and “trying it for fear the worms, while he was far away, had pierced the horn.” We hear the suitors doubt his skill.

“ But when the wary chief
Had poised and shrewdly scanned the mighty bow,
Then, as a singer, skilled to play the harp,
Stretches with ease its new fastenings,
A string, the entrails of a sheep,
Made fast at either end, so easily
Ulysses bent that mighty bow. He took
And drew the cord with his right hand : it twanged
With a clear sound, as when a swallow screams.
The suitors were dismayed, and all grew pale.
Jove, in loud thunder, gave a sign from heaven.
The much-enduring chief, Ulysses, heard
With joy the friendly omen which the son
Of crafty Saturn sent him. He took up
A wingèd arrow that before him lay
Upon a table drawn ; the others still
Were in the quiver’s womb ; the Greeks were yet
To feel them ; this he set with care against
The middle of the bow, and toward him drew
The cord and arrow-notch, just where he sat,
And, aiming opposite, let fly the shaft.
He missed no ring of all : from first to last
The brass-tipped arrow threaded every one.
Then to Telemachos Ulysses said,
‘ Telemachos, the stranger sitting here
Hath not disgraced thee. I have neither missed
The rings, nor found it hard to bend the bow.’
He spake, and nodded to Telemachos,
His well-beloved son, who girded on
His trenchant sword, and took in hand his spear,
And, armed with glittering brass for battle, came
And took his station by his father’s seat.
Then did Ulysses cast his rags aside,
And, leaping to the threshold, took his stand
On its broad space, with bow, and quiver filled
With arrows. At his feet the hero poured
The wingèd shafts, and to the suitors called,
‘ That difficult strife is ended. Now I take
Another mark, which no man yet has hit.
Now shall I see if I attain my aim,
And by the aid of Phœbus win renown.’
He spake, and, turning, at Antinoüs aimed
The bitter shaft, — Antinoüs, who just then
Had grasped a beautiful, two-eared cup of gold,
About to drink the wine.
Sideways he sank to earth ; his hand
Let fall the cup ; the dark blood, in a thick, warm stream,
Gushed from the nostrils of the smitten man.”

Then the poet describes the anguish of the falling. Alone Eurymachos found voice, who thus pleaded, —

"There lies the man who was the cause of all,
But now he has met his fate. Spare, then, thy people."

His request failing, we see Eurymachos turn to his comrades, and counsel them, —

"Prepare
For combat, then, and draw your swords, and hold
The tables up against his deadly shafts,
And rush together at him as one man."

Melanthios, the keeper of the goats, we see stealing through the door to get "shields, helms of brass, each with its heavy horse-hair plume," but finally to suffer the ignominious death of hanging for his treachery. The poet, after all the confusion of slaying the many suitors, makes Pallas hold on high her fatal *ægis*.

"From the roof
She showed it, and their hearts grew wild with fear."

The singer, son of Terpios, alone escaped. Telemachos begs for Medon, the herald who crouched underneath a throne, —

"Wrapped in a skin just taken from a steer,
To hide from the black doom of death."

Then

"Ulysses goes out stained with blood, and grimed with dust, . . .
As when a lion, who has just devoured
A bullock of the pasture, moves away,
A terror to the sight, with breasts and cheek
All bathed in blood; so did Ulysses seem,
His feet and hands steeped in the blood of men."

Finally we hear the well-beloved nurse tell of the fifty serving-maids "whom we have taught to work, to comb the fleece, and serve the household," —

"Twelve of these have walked
The way of shame."

Then we see the women, "lamenting loud with many tears," come to clean the blood-stained feasting-hall; and afterwards we hear of their woful fate.

The *mêlée* of falling and fallen, and the blood mixed with the viands, are vividly pictured in verse; but, in the sculptor's story, we find many variations from the poet's dread picture. We first look (Fig. 188, *b*) into the feasting-hall, where single pillars indicate the many columns of the apartment. Rich couches bear the feasters; and the huge vase for wine, in front, hints to us

their revels. By the door through which the keeper of the goats, Melanthios, steals to bring down shields and helmets, stand, as do the Tyrant-slayers of Athens, the father and son, the aggrieved Odysseus in front, drawing the bow, which must have been indicated by painting. The victim on the front couch

must be Eurymachos, who, with hand raised, expostulates with Ulysses; others, behind, following Eurymachos' advice, hold up tables to protect themselves; a third is sorely wounded in the back; a fourth holds up his garments, perchance to shield himself. The one who lies stretched out, his cup fallen from his hand, must be Antinoüs. Possibly the one kneeling, as though to conceal himself under a table, is Medon, the herald; and thus the scene continues, there being four more victims who do not appear in our engraving. At the opposite end, another part of the story seems to be hinted at (Fig. 188, *a*). Here must be Penelope and her maidens. The stately figure of Penelope in



Fig. 188, *b*. The Slaying of Penelope's Suitors. From Göttingen. Vienna.



a

"lustrous veil" is erect among her attendants; since in the sculptor's rendering of the myth she does not, as in the poem, sleep. On either side of her stands a serving-maid, the veiled one perhaps the well-beloved nurse. Beyond must be one of the unfaithful maids, cast down and distressed; and another fleeing in fright. Odysseus, "be-grimed with blood, hastens" to the cleansing of the now polluted feasting-hall. Not the least interesting fact in connection with this scene is, that it appears, but abbreviated, on an Attic vase from the second half of the fifth century, found at Corneto, and now in the Berlin Museum,⁸⁰⁴ these motives in common showing that the origi-

nal must have belonged to a still earlier date. History has happily preserved to us the fact, that, in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Athena Areia at Plataiai, Polygnotos painted the slaying of Penelope's suitors;⁸⁰⁵ and there is every reason to believe, that all these objects—the beautiful vase-painting, these very pictorial Lykian sculptures, as well as crudest Etruscan reliefs, which treat of the same subject—derived more or less indirectly their artistic

motives from the picture by that great master. In the vase-painting executed in Athens, there is the most beauty; and the graceful combination of the unfaithful maidens there with the rest of the scene, as they look on at the fate of their unhappy lovers, seems to give us an inkling of the power of the original, and we better understand its influence on all the art of later times.

On the inner side of the west wall were two long friezes, battle-scenes of varied purport, but most curiously united with one another. Thus, for a long distance in both, Amazon conflicts appear: then, in the middle, comes the picture of a besieged city, in which, in the upper row (Fig. 189, *a*, *b*, *c*), (in the frieze in one continuous line), the besieged are throwing down stones on the heads of warriors in the lower row, who are trying to protect themselves with shields. Battles between



Fig 189. Part of Reliefs which lined the Walls of the Heroön at Gjölbaschi. Vienna.

Greeks, in which ships must have had some part, complete the decoration of this western wall. But to return to the besieged city in its midst. A part of the turreted walls, crowned at regular intervals by towers, appear in our cut, but not their pointed, arched gateways beneath, through which the besiegers represented in the lower frieze press.⁸⁰⁶ In the midst of the city we see the front of a temple (Fig. 189, *a*), and, not far removed from it, two throned figures (Fig. 189, *b*), — one bearded, and seated on a lower throne, perhaps an old king; and the other a female figure, and seated higher up, probably a goddess. All around the battle rages fiercely; and very remarkable is the perspective of those armed warriors (Fig. 189, *c*), who, seven deep, are preparing to receive the besiegers coming up through the gate from below.



Away from them all, one warrior, with raised hands, seems to be offering prayer; while another, with lifted sword, is preparing to slay the ram for sacrifice. Outside of all this tumult are, besides, scenes in which the unhappy besieged depart, with their goods and families borne on beasts of burden. Thus the scene, in its multitude of pictorial subjects and details, is also most clearly an echo of painting translated into stone.

We know that Polygnotos painted, in the Temple of the Dioscuri at Athens, the rape of the daughters of Leukippos; and it seems very probable, that in some of the sculptures of the north side of our Gjölbaschi tomb, where this whole story is told, we have many motives developed by the great master.⁸⁰⁷ There are scenes of offering before a temple, accompanying the nuptial festivities of the beautiful Hilaeira and Phoibe, daughters of Leukippos. The crowd is in great excitement; for from among them two youths bear off in their chariots the two struggling brides, but to be followed by the lawful bridegrooms on horseback, determined to have vengeance on these ruthless Dioscuri: the father and mother stand by, distressed witnesses of the scene. Thus, although sadly injured, these representations give us the artistic language in which these sculptors of an early day in Lykia told their mythic lays. The date of these marbles must, no doubt, be about that of the so-called Nereid monument, since they are very much alike in style; but the possibility of the better comparison of these monuments by casts may in time give us a more accurate date. With these recently recovered Lykian monuments, we have priceless witnesses to art-streams of which we had scarcely an intimation before; and doubtless study will trace still more clearly the various currents.

Turning now from the sculptor's work in far-off, mountainous Lykia, we may pass over to the flourishing Greek lands in Southern Italy and Sicily. We should find that the victory over the Carthaginians at Himera (480 B.C.) inaugurated a period of artistic activity similar to that in Athens after the Persian wars. The names of but two men, however, from Southern Italy, are preserved to us, — Sostratos of Rhegion, nephew of the great Pythagoras; and Patrokles of Croton: but of these men hardly any thing is known.⁸⁰⁸ From Sicily no names are preserved: but as, during the first half of the century, the Tyrants made thank-offerings at the Greek shrines; so, during the latter half, temples were put up, their ruins and sculptural decorations still existing. Still, these are very scanty; and, were it not for the additional testimony of coins, we should indeed have a very feeble idea of the artistic achievements of these Greek peoples during this great period.⁸⁰⁹

On the road to the harbor of Acragas (modern Girgenti) was put up a temple to the victory-bringing Zeus, its height being double that of the Parthenon, and its area of 369 by 182 feet surpassed only by that of the Artemesion at Ephesos built in the following century.⁸¹⁰ When, in 405 B.C., the opulent

people of Acragas were conquered by the Carthaginians, this great temple, which was well-nigh completed, was destroyed. In the pediments, however, had been carved groups, which, according to Diodoros, concerned the siege of Troy and the battles with the giants. Each individual figure was characterized; but the fragments are so mutilated, that the different heroes can no longer be recognized; and we can only admire the grand, free treatment of the forms, although they are in the common limestone of the country. Besides these sculptures, there stood against pilasters of the ground-floor colossal giants, their heads bent forward, and arms behind their necks, upholding the protruding roof of the *cella* sacred to the great conqueror of the giants (Fig. 114). One of these unwilling servants of Zeus now lies prostrate among the imposing temple-ruins, behind which rises the purple and smoking *Ætna*, while in front rolls and splashes the sparkling blue sea. How admirably the forced service of this rebellious giant is expressed, astonishing the modern traveller by the adaptation of his strained, huge limbs to his heavy task, his eyes cast down, and his hair severely regular! The contrast is most striking, between his burdened form and the free and easy but dignified bearing of the maidens of the *Erechtheion* at Athens.



Fig. 190. Metope from Selinus. Actæon devoured by his Hounds. Palermo.

Besides these colossal architectural sculptures from pediment and *cella*, may be mentioned a stone fragment of a medallion-like relief in grand style, found in the sea near Girgenti, and now in the British Museum. It represents a male and a female head, perhaps the helmeted Pelops and veiled Hippodameia, who were specially honored in Sicily.

At Selinus, also, there was much carving at this time; and the erection of a treasury at Olympia, the ruins of which have been found, shows there, too, the work of Sicilian artists. From the temples at Selinus, built before the destruction of the city in 409 B.C., we need mention only two or three metopes, now in Palermo, which reveal a strange union of archaic stiffness in drapery with freedom in the treatment of the face, as well as a curious manipulation of the stone. Thus, in those subjects where fair women appear, their faces, hands, and feet are rendered in white marble, superadded to the coarse limestone in which the remainder is executed, and remind one of the similar treatment of the female form on black-figured vases. All the peculiarities of these sculptures may be well seen in that metope where Hera in bridal beauty appears

before Zeus, and in the one where Artemis watches the deserved fate of the hunter Actaion (Fig. 190). According to one story, for boasting that he could surpass the skill of this huntress-goddess, and according to another, for daring to watch her as she bathed, Artemis turned Actaion into a stag, to be torn in pieces by his own pack of fifty hounds. In the sculpture we see many of them falling upon him; but his form is still purely human, — a fine contrast to the stiff drapery of the goddess. In the heavy forms and general conception, we are, moreover, strongly reminded of the style of the still older Selinus sculptures, of which these seem the natural outgrowth. With these metopes found in Selinus, we close our survey of Greek sculpture developed during the latter half of the fifth century B.C.

On reviewing the whole field for that age, we see that art stood on very different levels at the same time in different parts of the ancient Greek world. We find that Athens first, and then Argos, were the centres of artistic influence. By Athenians the lofty ideals of a Zeus, Athena, and Asclepios were incorporated in numerous chryselephantine and marble statues; and in Argos the athlete's sturdy form in bronze was perfected, and a canon of proportions for the human frame established. The remains of temple sculptures showed deeper, intenser passion beginning to be expressed; but in the faces of gods, goddesses, heroes, and men, we saw written only the noble being of the soul, not its varying and fleeting emotions. We have seen a grandeur and powerfulness of build for male and female forms, and a noble simplicity in drapery, which characterized this age alone, and was in perfect harmony with its sublime ideals.

But the broad field of human passion and individualism was not yet entered upon, and many new ideals of gods and goddesses were still to be developed.



